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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2054

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10 September 1982

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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**CONTENTS**

BULGARIA

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Public Prosecutor Exposes Crime, Bribes, Corruption<br>(Chanko Apostolov; ANTENI, 21 Jul 82) ..... | 1 |
|--|---|

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| June 1982 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed<br>(NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10 Jun 82) .....                            | 3  |
| Basic Organizations To Strengthen Trust Between Party, People<br>(IWE TAGESDIENST, 18 Jun 82; EINHEIT, Jun 82) .....   | 4  |
| West German Commentary<br>SED CC Secretary's Discussion  |    |
| Interior Minister Urges Tightening of Law and Order Measures<br>(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 8 Jun 82; EINHEIT, Jun 82) .....     | 14 |
| West German Commentary<br>GDR Interior Minister's Discussion, by Friedrich Dickel                                      |    |
| 'Boringly Repetitious' Ideological Indoctrination To Be Avoided<br>(Guenter Schneider; EINHEIT, Jun 82) .....          | 23 |
| Philosophical Work on Contradictions in Socialism Reviewed<br>(Klaus Goessler; EINHEIT, Jun 82) .....                  | 31 |
| Listings, Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles<br>(EINHEIT, Jun 82) .....                                       | 36 |
| Dissident Writer Hermlin on Unofficial GDR Peace Movement<br>(Stephan Hermlin; FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 19 Jul 82) ..... | 40 |

HUNGARY

Socialist Theory of Economics Under Attack (FIGYELO, 12 Aug 82) .....	46
Need To Retarget Nonurban Political Work Discussed (Janos Balla, et al. Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 31 Jul 82) .....	49

ROMANIA

Briefs	
Governmental Personnel Changes	55
Release of Deputy Minister	55
Ministerial Personnel Change	55
New Deputy Ministers	55
Prahova, Dolj Appointments	55

YUGOSLAVIA

Article in Croatian Weekly Urges Democratic Restructuring of LCY (Slobodan Inic; DANAS, 10 Aug 82) .....	56
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BULGARIA

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR EXPOSES CRIME, BRIBES, CORRUPTION

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 21 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Chanko Apostolov, public prosecutor of the Office of the Public Prosecutor General of the Bulgarian People's Republic: "What Makes Thefts Easier? Minutes of a Session on a Proposal of the Public Prosecutor"; passages enclosed in slant-lines printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] This time the agenda of the City of Dunavtsi Party Committee session was a little unusual--a report by the rayon public prosecutor, the rayon judge and the chief of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Rayon Administration on crimes and violations of the law in the conurbation system. Here is what the report actually said:

There are a large number of at-first-glance harmless "petty" thefts of agricultural output which do serious damage to the APK [agroindustrial complex]. Withal, for some time the attitude of a wide circle of people towards these crimes has been lenient. Formerly a private plotholder prosecuted the thieves but now he tolerates them. The people have become accustomed to the lack of accountability to authority, too.

No satisfactory measures, for example, are taken under the Law for the Safeguarding of Agricultural Property. Indictments are not drawn up against all violators, small fines are imposed, damages are not fixed properly, the fines that are set are not speedily collected, the possibilities of comradely discipline are not made use of, etc.

There are a large number of people who are brought to court for failure to pay child support. The underlying reasons for this offense most frequently are the striving of the former spouses to harass each other and the lack of a sense of parental duty. The personnel offices in some institutions and enterprises fail to perform their duties of making a notation in the workbooks of persons ordered to make support payments and paymasters fail to make timely deductions in accordance with the writs of execution.

Other offenses are committed, too: misappropriation by trade employees, offenses against order and public tranquility, perjury, bribery, crimes involving documents and transportation etc.

The unfavorable picture of criminality and law violations makes it imperative that, in addition to administrative and penal measures, a tremendous preventive and educational job should be done among the working people of the conurbation system.

And here are some statements:

/L. Ignatov/, APK chairman: "We must expose the thieves. Most of the guards are indeed pensioners and not young people, but the main reason for this is the low pay --100 to 120 leva. We have to build 30 farmyards, but the funds for this purpose are scarce. Members of the cooperative steal feed from the APK and let their livestock graze on cooperative property. What we must do is /have the brigade itself guard the property that it manages/!"

/Y. Gergov/, chairman of the Obshtina Fatherland Front Committee: "The fault is ours, principally of brigade members, team leaders and guards. I have such a case --the entire team at the workday each filled their bags with 20-30 kilograms of choice apples in the presence of the brigade leader and guard. I made half of them dump them out, but the others left with the apples. I suggest that the public prosecutors and judges come to our meetings and have a word with the people. We can also organize a hard-line public court. We don't prosecute at all--that is the reason."

/M. Tsanov/, propaganda secretary of the Obshtina BCP Committee: "We must speak frankly to the people, for there are a lot of 'quiet' violations as a matter of fact. At present only the Obshtina Committee for State and People's Control is actively working. We have all got to get to work--both the council and the APK management, the Komsomol and the comradely courts--everybody."

/V. Rangelov/, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Obshtina People's Council: "Seventy people have been given the power to draw up indictments under the Law for the Safeguarding of Agricultural Property, but at present only two or three are doing it. I say this so that we will realize how low the level of our campaign against violators is."

/D. Tomov/, first secretary of the Obshtina Party Committee: "The report and the requirements have outlined the state of affairs and the measures that we must take. I suggest that we take decisions addressed to all agencies that have anything to do with the problem."

The party committee took the proposed decisions.

Implementation thereof has begun.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

JUNE 1982 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37, No 6, June 1982, signed to press 7 May 1982, pp 561-671: "Party Work and Performance Growth." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The recently concluded party elections are impressive evidence that the party collectives are contributing with increasing quality and effectiveness to the implementation of the party's general line aimed at ensuring peace and the people's well-being. This assessment introduces a contribution by Horst Dohlus in EINHEIT No 6.

Pointing to the growing demands particularly on the basic organizations, Dohlus continues: "The economy is and remains the decisive battlefield for the revolutionary activity of the party and of each Communist. In this respect, one should focus on creating the necessary ideological, production, cadre and organizational conditions for the full use of the advantages of socialism as well as the strong driving forces of the socialist system."

How are we succeeding in making more effective the knowledge, skills and experiences of the working people? This problem is examined in the subsequent contribution by Wolfgang Beyreuther, who brings up for discussion management experiences at the VEB Petrochemical Combine, Schwedt, and the Mansfeld Combine.

There is a direct connection between imperialist crisis and imperialist war, according to Otto Reinholt, who in his article analyzes the roots and driving forces of the imperialist course of confrontation. Equally topical is the contribution by Max Schmidt about U.S. plans for world domination as well as the two "Facts and Figures" reports on the arms race and cuts in social benefits, respectively.

The Seventh Pioneer Rally will take place in Dresden in about two months. Helga Labs reports on the preparations for this event. In this context the author offers suggestions to teachers, Pioneer leaders and parents for an interesting, meaningful life in the groups and friendship circles of the Pioneers. Other contributions to the June issue are devoted to the topic of "Order and Security" (by Friedrich Dickel); the 100th birthday of Georgiy Dimitrov (by Horst Schumacher); and to the founding of the first agricultural producer cooperative (LPG) in our republic (by Norbert Geipel).

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BASIC ORGANIZATIONS TO STRENGTHEN TRUST BETWEEN PARTY, PEOPLE

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 91, 18 Jun 82 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Wants to Recruit More Engineers as Members." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] As Horst Dohlus, SED Central Committee secretary for party organs, announced, the SED wants to recruit more engineers and scientists from industry as members. In the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1982), he explained that intention by the need to strengthen party influence on the development of science and technology and to ensure, especially in production preparation departments like R&D, design and technology, good conditions for the party's bringing a political influence to bear on top performance. The second priority for membership recruiting, according to Dohlus, are young workers to improve both the party's "class character" in terms of its social composition and the age-structure.

SED CC Secretary's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 1982)  
pp 593-600

[Article by Horst Dohlus, SED Central Committee secretary for party organs:  
"The Growing Role and Responsibility of the SED's Basic Organizations"]

[Text] The party elections were impressive evidence that the party collectives are contributing with increasing quality and effectiveness to the implementation of the party's general line. The basic organizations occupy a key position in strengthening the party's leadership role. As the party's foundation, and firmly rooted in all social domains, they form the direct link with the masses. To help shape further their ability to enforce party strategy and tactics, basic orientations are given and general rules are drawn from experiences.

The elections in the party groups, departmental party organizations and basic party organizations--the first ones after the 10th SED Congress--have been concluded successfully. In the light of the new qualitative criteria applying to the implementation of its resolutions, the comrades deliberated on and determined the concrete contribution they are going to make to the successful implementation of party policy. It was impressively documented that party collectives everywhere are contributing with increasing quality and effectiveness to the implementation of the party's general line, aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

In every public domain, the implementation of the economic strategy for the 1980's, as issued by the party congress and aimed at continuing the policy of the main task, has been taken on and been translated into concrete campaign targets. Through a thorough analysis of the speech Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, gave before the kreis first secretaries, the understanding was deepened of why higher targets are being sought for improving the efficiency of the economy and of labor productivity, extracting and using domestic raw materials, optimum refinement of products, and the thriftiest dealing with material, energy and imports. Intensification of social production as the chief course toward economic growth, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and an optimum utilization of its results therefore are becoming still more the focal point of socialist economic management.

Thanks to the arduous efforts and rich initiatives of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all other working people, the high rate of economic growth is systematically being continued and, in crucial areas, accelerated. While the capitalist world is incessantly being upset by crises, it turns out that socialism even under the more complicated international conditions is in the position to implement its economic and social policy in unity. Politically and economically, the GDR is developing stably and consistently, enjoying great worldwide respect as a buttress of peace in Europe.

This successful balance-sheet for the development of the first German workers and farmers state is inseparable from the SED's grown leadership role, its increased fighting strength, its firm solidarity with the masses and its consistent internationalist stance. That has been so in the past, and so it will be in the future, in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and in the struggle for peace. Constantly elevating the SED's leadership role and thereby further developing the party as a vivid political organism is objectively necessary as an inevitability of the socialist revolution to which we conform by what we do.

#### Coping With New Tasks

Here we must take account of the more extensive and varied national and international tasks, which are bound to lead to higher demands on our Marxist-Leninist party, and of the new qualitative conditions under which the party's leadership role and the responsibility of the basic organizations are increasing further. They mainly result from the intensification of the class struggle with imperialism

and the dangers to peace conjured up by U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies, and from the dimensions of the social processes in the 1980's, which are constantly becoming more extensive, more intricately entwined, and more significant in their national and international ramifications.

Higher demands on the party's leadership role arise from the need incessantly to bolster our workers and farmers power and its defense capacity and from the growing role of the workers class as the agent of political power and society's major productive force. Its alliance with all other working people is growing closer and more multiplex, and the continued shaping of socialist democracy as the chief trend in strengthening socialist state power is reaching qualitatively a higher level. The 10th party congress resolution on consistently extending the main task even under changed reproduction conditions assigns us the task to convert the significantly greater socialist consciousness, the political maturity and the technical skills of the workers class and all working people into a high rate of economic growth. Growing demands on the party as the leading force of society also arise from that the all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, especially in the economic and scientific-technical field, is gaining still greater weight.

#### The Basic Organizations' High Fighting Strength

It is among the most important tasks of the party management organs to create the prerequisites for a vivid implementation of the party's leadership role principally in the basic organizations, whereby to place the party as a whole in the position in which it can cope with the new tasks in social development. Bolstering the basic organizations' fighting strength is a fundamental task because they are the foundation of our fighting alliance, it being firmly rooted in all public domains. They are the Communists' political home base and, at once, the immediate link between the party and the masses, through which the party exercises its guiding and organizing influence on social development<sup>1</sup> and realizes a crucial part of its alliance policy. Most closely and directly tied up with the problems of economic performance growth, the basic organizations organize the implementation of our tried and tested course of economic and social policy in unity,<sup>2</sup> as they organize every day in the work collectives the ideological struggle for enforcing our economic strategy.

This key position of the basic organizations in the life of our party and, in fact, in all of society, is confirmed each day anew. They to a large extent determine how the political-ideological, economic and social, intellectual-cultural, military and organizational tasks, as set down in the SED Central Committee resolutions, are to be implemented in their whole complexity, and directly together with the working people, how political steadfastness, a combative spirit, dedication and discipline are to be instilled in each comrade, and how through the efforts of the Communists the party's leadership role is made to prevail in all public domains. To do justice to the party's growing leadership role and consolidating the basic organizations' fighting strength, we must place the matters that are pertinent to it in the center of all management activity.

It is most important for each basic organization to contribute concretely to consolidating the workers and farmers power in the GDR all-around and ensuring its secure protection under all conditions and at all times. The basic organizations foster the development of socialist democracy in that they draw more and more working people into the management and planning of social development, especially the material production, and into the supervision over the implementation of the party resolutions. That Lenin found to be one of the biggest advantages of socialism. The masses, he said, had to be "taught to rule."<sup>3</sup> That also is the reason why the party attributes such high importance to the plan debates, the intensification conferences in the enterprises and the regular status reports managers present to the work collectives. They are socialist democracy in action.

It is of great importance to strengthening the authority of our socialist state power to qualify for effective political work the more than 111,000 volunteer comrades, male and female, in the people's representations and their commissions, and the thousands of party members on National Front commissions and in the protective and security organs. The working people, as one knows, primarily judge the party by its practical policy and by how the Communists champion the well-being and happiness of the workers class and all the people in their immediate working and living environment. The basic organizations and each individual Communist have a critical influence on the further consolidation of the relationship of trusts between the party, the state and the people and on recruiting the masses ever anew into participation in the implementation of our policy.

The basic organizations bear much responsibility for persuasively propagating our party policy among the masses and their constantly growing socialist consciousness. They are an essential factor for combining scientific socialism with the workers movement and for the communist education for all working people. That conforms with a mission of our party program, which formulates as a basic concern of our party's political-ideological activity "to equip the workers class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, explaining party policy to them, developing their socialist thoughts, feelings and actions, mobilizing them for solving the tasks, and shielding them against all influences from imperialist and bourgeois ideology."<sup>4</sup>

Experience has shown each social developmental phase is inseparable from struggling for the hearts and minds of men. Ideological work is and remains the most important in all the activity of the party and its basic organizations. For the future as well, the most important party mission any Communist has is to seek and conduct always and everywhere, wherever he works, learns and lives, aggressively, confident conversations with his colleagues at work and his fellow-citizens. Regular political conversations in the work collective and the housing community, which conform with the higher level of consciousness and education, are the most effective form of mass activity, for which there is no substitute. This releases the people's great creative capacities and deepens the trust of the members of all classes and strata in the party and its policy. So we achieve the most perceptible advances in forming socialist modes of thought and conduct, deepening proletarian internationalism, and clarifying the basic issues of our domestic and foreign policy, so that everywhere there develops an atmosphere of great political open-mindedness and dedication to economic performance.

Prerequisite to it is that proper attention be always given to educating and training the Communists for persuasive and mobilizing ideological work, revolutionary vigilance, and uncompromising struggle against all anticomunist and revisionist influences and against any kind of hostile acts. This demands of management activity to equip the comrades every day with convincing political arguments and to discover and apply the most effective methods and forms for political-ideological work.

#### Political Management of Economic Processes

The basic organizations bear a high share of responsibility for continuing successfully along the course of the main task and for implementing the party's economic strategy point by point through idea-rich and constructive efforts. When Comrade Erich Honecker asserted in the Central Committee report to the 10th party congress that the economy was the centerpiece of SED social policy, the party's basic organizations were provided with the decisive direction of their political-ideological and organizational efforts. The economy is and remains the decisive battlefield for the revolutionary activity of the party and of each Communist. In this respect, one should focus on creating the necessary ideological, production, cadre and organizational conditions for the full use of the advantages of socialism as well as the strong driving forces of the socialist system.

We have already gathered tremendous experiences in implementing our economic strategy. From that arise new demands for the basic organizations' political management of economic processes:

First, we need a better quality and power of conviction for the ideological work among the working people. Each has to be made aware of the weight of his own work for strengthening the economy. This is predicated on having the Communists set examples in moving ahead while they enjoy the confidence of the working people. We have to see to it with determination that the nearly 2 million party members who are organized in trade unions, the 300,000 Communists in the socialist youth association, and the 83,000 comrades in the Chamber of Technology help implement our party's leading and inspiring role in the mass organizations. When the party, the Communists, can rely on the initiators, the innovators, the efficiency experts and the best workers, back them up and help them in their perfecting their personality profiles, they strengthen their role within the work collective and help raise their performances to become social standards.

Second, we must make a still more resolute effort to have each and every position of the plan reliably fulfilled day after day on all production sectors and in each work collective and reduce unjustifiable performance disparities. The point is that more and more basic organizations, on the basis of Central Committee resolutions, set targets that exceed the plan to use the performance capacity in the enterprises and combines to the fullest and further improve the cost/benefit ratio on the economic scale. For that, the most recent Central Committee seminar in Leipzig with the general directors of the combines and the SED Central Committee party organizers staked out clear assignments.

There are a whole number of slogans such as "Fewer produce more," "Each every day with a fine balance-sheet," "Comparing with the best--preparing for the top," "Saving costs is workmanlike," or "Down with production consumption--preserve national income." If one acts in accordance with them, effective impulses are generated for the development of mass initiatives. When the basic organizations then orient the creativeness of the collectives toward major tasking areas in economic performance development, one acts entirely in Lenin's sense who repeatedly pointed out that slogans are of great importance for leading the masses.<sup>5</sup> In their compact form they bring them face to face with topical issues of party policy, challenge their allegiance to our socialist state and mobilize them for action. A concretely organized performance comparison, a thorough study of best experiences, and setting management examples tap unimagined economic reserves, release moral impulses and help reduce disparities in levels. Those basic organizations do best that have no hesitation to pick up good experiences and make them prevail in their total range as mandatory norms.

Third, the basic organizations' political management of the economy must be combined still more effectively with educating and training the managers for consistently implementing party resolutions under their own personal responsibility. Their personal responsibility for developing creativeness and the working people's initiative in socialist emulation and for production running without any interference has to be raised. In the fulfilment and targeted overfulfilment of economic tasks and the concentration of capacities on crucial sectors, the basic organizations find in the campaign programs indispensable political management tools for implementing the party's leadership role in the economy. As the action programs of the basic organizations, by which they set in motion all social capacities and orchestrate all party work for solving the centrally assigned political and economic tasks, they embody the live force of democratic centralism as a vital law of our party. Establishing and concretely accounting for ambitious campaign goals in connection with assigning party missions instills much activity and discipline in the members and candidates. It strengthens collectivity, fosters criticism and self-criticism, and elevates the comrades' personal accountability to the effort of implementing the party resolutions.

It helps effectively in disseminating proven experiences and spreading mass initiative when the press, the radio and television popularize commitments assumed, e.g., by party organizations, trade union activists groups, scientists, creators of culture, in letters sent to the SED Central Committee and its secretary general. Such political commitments express the deep trust the working people have in SED policy and their dedication to the consolidation of our socialist fatherland. Simultaneously, they are placing themselves under the control of all society by such commitments. What now matters in the basic organizations is prudently to organize the work and ensure regular status reports and controls, so that those performance goals be reached.

The basic organizations have an important task in enforcing party policy through each work collective and shaping the socialist character of labor and the socialist way of life. Constantly seeking to increase society's material and spiritual wealth, they stand up as the collectives' political leadership core in the crucial sphere of life in which the working people become socialist personalities.

They foster such moral working class values as working class honor, work and plan discipline, creativeness and the striving for a better quality of labor. The personality-forming capacity of the work collectives keeps solidifying the class standpoint and such traits as high work morale, collective spirit and the sense of public responsibility.

The work of the party groups becomes most effective when the comrades always let themselves be guided by the experience that combative performance readiness and initiative become the norm of life in the work collectives and trade union and FDJ groups once the Communists in them set the models for such attitudes and vividly, through encouraging political awareness, high labor achievements and the working people's social activities, instil life into our principle: "Wherever there is a comrade, there is the party, too!"

#### The Comrades' Education and Political Qualifications

A decisive factor for implementing the party's leadership role lies in constantly raising the ideological and educational level of intra-party life. All experiences in successful party work indicate that consolidating our fighting strength and each Communist's high political activity greatly depend on how well the basic organizations put the Leninist norms of party life into effect. High-level intra-party life is decisive for the education and political qualification of the comrades as active party fighters. The main trend in perfecting it lies in broadly spreading intra-party democracy, bolstering the collectivity of the managements, and bringing to bear more strongly criticism and self-criticism on our education. Thereby we consolidate the comrades' conscious discipline and uniform, cohesive action within the party.

The results of the party elections once again confirm that the Communists' combative positions and their activities grow to the extent that they identify with party policy. The comrades' total ideological conformity with the essence of party resolutions always proves the pivot and fulcrum for their conscious disciplined conduct and for the capacity to make the working people actively support our policy through great achievements. This way, through the militant determination and the initiative-rich efforts of each of its members, the whole party is gaining in strength.

Because the membership meetings have the strongest influence on intra-party life, we must devote the greatest attention to improving the quality of their content and organization and to shaping their role as places of education, information and instruction for the members and candidates, as forums of collective consultation and decision-making, of experience exchange and debate and of supervising the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions. Particularly the regular status reports to the highest organ of the basic organization prove effective forms of party control. We mainly have to be aware that the educational and mobilizing character of the membership meeting, as experience shows, increases for each party member to the extent that things are handled more concretely and frankly within them and one proceeds from the actual situation, constructive ways are discussed for compelling changes and each Communist's personal contribution to the implementation of resolutions is given its due. The communists' collective debate on ambitious realistic goals, in which each comrade's

opinion is solicited, attentive response to suggestions and criticism, and honesty and understanding for personal problems also mark the starting point for confident relations between the party collectives and the working people and for developing an atmosphere in which creative labor and high dedication prosper.

Another critical chainlink for high-level intra-party life are regular personal conversations between party managements and the members and candidates. Such confident individual consultations are becoming more and more of a need: For the comrades, because they are much help in instilling in them a party-bound attitude in every situation, aggressive political efforts and personal activity. For the managements, because they give them an immediate insight into the moods and opinions of the comrades on the various questions, more deeply explain the political motivation behind their conduct, so that they can make their work more diversified ideologically and more concrete management decisions in the knowledge of the comrades' experiences, ideas and recommendations.

Implementing the party's growing leadership role and the increasing responsibility of the basic organizations linked with it largely depend on the party's qualitative and quantitative composition and on great stability and continuity in the composition of the managements of the basic organizations. That makes it necessary to create the necessary prerequisites for the steady implementation of the party's leadership role by a purposeful qualitative and quantitative consolidation of party ranks, as party executive resolutions have decreed. We have to see to it resolutely, under kreis management leadership, that through admitting young production workers, mainly from the youth brigades and the best FDJ members, the class character of the party is strengthened in its social composition while the demands on individual selection and the admission of new candidates are constantly raised and the vitality and mass solidarity of our party also are reflected in age structure continuity development and in the Communists' Marxist-Leninist and technical qualifications.

The experiences of our struggle have taught us that incessantly elevating the party members' theoretical level is a crucial condition for consolidating the basic organizations' fighting strength for the purpose of implementing the party's leadership role. So the bezirk and kreis managements and the managements of the basic organizations have to keep making the most effective use of the party's tried and tested educational system. Providing the party study year with great ideological substance and a conscientious selecting and delegating of capable comrades for party schools is as much as first-rank management task as are more skillful cadre programs, the education, training and advanced training for cadre, and the long-range preparation for responsible leadership functions in the party, economy and social organizations in accordance with long-range tasks and higher criteria.

#### Organizing and Enforcing the Party's Strategy and Tactics

At the same time we must always pay attention to the principle that the party, as the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class, as the party of revolutionary action, can fulfil its leadership tasks in any given political situation only as long as each basic organization, through a targeted distribution of party members over areas that determine efficiency and speed, make

sure the party resolutions will be carried out at a high quality. For that reason, political work must continue to be directed at forming an active core of Communists in all work collectives--especially also in the youth brigades--, strengthening party influence on the development of science and technology and intellectual-cultural life, and ensuring good conditions for the party's political influence on the effort for top achievements, especially by raising the degree of organization in the production-preparation departments, such as R&D, design and technology.

Lenin has said: "The stronger our party organizations, the broader, more varied, richer and more fruitful will party influence be on the elements of masses of workers surrounding it, which it leads."<sup>6</sup> Mindful of that remark, our party executive decisions always are directed at further developing the capability of the basic organizations in organizing and enforcing party strategy and tactics, strengthening their authority, and assigning them concrete tasks that are derived from domestic and foreign policy requirements. The fundamental role the basic organizations have in consolidating the party's fighting strength and leadership role induces the Central Committee to show special attention and concern for their being directed and assisted by the kreis managements. It always lets itself be guided by the consideration that a kreis management managerial style that is realistic and constructive and shows mass solidarity is decisive for the level of work basic organizations can perform. It means making the management activity of kreis managements accountable and aiming their resolutions and direct assistance in the basic organizations at effective and permanent changes. Kreis managements will bring the great capacity of the basic organizations best into play if they help them right on the spot in organizing performance comparisons, drawing general rules from best experiences, giving broader development still to voluntary activities pertaining to it, ensuring great political stability for all areas, and applying to all tasks the always irrevocable yardstick of the Central Committee resolutions.

Especially also under complicated political class struggle conditions, the confident relations between kreis managements and basic organizations have proven a vital nerve of our party activity, on which depends how the Communists are led in our struggle and all working people are firmly rallied around the party and are given free rein to their dedication and their capabilities in working for socialism. Powerful basic organizations proving themselves solid party bastions at all times and under any conditions are and remain the surest guarantee for the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 69.
2. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 138.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Speech on the Second All-Russian Trade Union Congress," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 438.

4. "Programm . . .," op. cit., p 66.
5. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," "Werke," Vol 9, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 5.
6. V. I. Lenin, " One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," "Werke," Vol 7, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 257.

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CSO: 2300/379

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INTERIOR MINISTER URGES TIGHTENING OF LAW AND ORDER MEASURES

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 85, 8 Jun 82 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "People's Police to Increase Operational Readiness and Vigilance." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] GDR interior minister Dickel now has underscored the growing responsibility of the People's Police for "high public order and security." He explained his demand in the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1982) by the "requirements for foreign and domestic policy development," i.e., "the greater need for the protection of our workers and farmers state in view of the imperialist confrontation policy." The People's Police "should strengthen the authority of the workers and farmers power and of socialist legality and reinforce the citizens' confidence in legal security in socialist society." The operational readiness of the People's Police should be "raised onto a still higher level" and vigilance should be increased. Dickel asked for resolute reaction to law violations: yet that should "also be just and understandable to have as high an educational effect as possible." That, the GDR interior minister continued, called for "political sensitivity, correct conduct, great knowledge and skill, and attention to the citizens' concerns and suggestions." In fighting against crime, it was of "exceptional importance to clarify the causes, conditions and motives for crimes and other law violations with the greatest care." Dickel pointed out in this connection that the crime rate was eight times higher in the FRG than in the GDR. Even so, the rate of certain crimes, unruly behavior e.g., troubles the East Berlin leadership.

GDR Interior Minister's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 82)  
pp 620-626

[Article by Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, member, SED Central Committee; minister of the interior; chief, German People's Police: "Order and Security--Element of Our Citizens' Protection." A translation of the official text of the "Decree on the Voluntary Assistants of the German People's Police, dated

1 April 1982," cited in footnote 6, is published in JPRS 81238, 8 Jul 82,  
No 2030 of this series, pp 12-15]

[Text] Public life in our socialist republic is marked by high order and security. It assures the life and work of our citizens in an atmosphere of high legal order in quiet and comfort. Pursuant to its constitutional mission, the People's Police does everything, together with the other security and justice organs and the working people, to turn order and security more and more into an overall public concern and enable every citizen to exercise his civic responsibility.

#### Public Activities for Order and Security

The GDR has circa 81,000 officially recognized areas or collectives of "exemplary order and security," 75,000 of which in the economy, 6,000 in towns, communities and residential areas;  
some 158,000 citizens are voluntary assistants of the German People's Police;  
some 280,000 citizens are voluntarily involved in improving traffic safety, 122,000 of them in traffic safety activists groups, 58,000 in task forces for traffic safety in residential areas and communities, 28,000 as permanent traffic safety training instructors, and 56,000 pupils as "young traffic assistants" or "pupil pilots";  
some 453,000 working people are working in the volunteer fire departments, 60,000 of them being women and girls, and 52,000 pupils are members of the task forces called "young fire protection assistants";  
some 15,000 citizens are appointed volunteer associates of the domestic affairs departments under the local councils;  
some 37,000 adolescents are members of the FDJ Public Order Groups;  
nearly 2 million citizens work as authorized house sign-out book representatives.

Our party has always consistently and creatively applied the lessons of the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union's universal experiences and the insights from the revolutionary struggles of the German workers class into establishing and consolidating the political power of the workers and farmers. Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, emphatically emphasized at the third session of the SED Central Committee, as an important requirement also for the 1980's: "For our party, the all-round strengthening of the socialist state is and remains the cardinal issue of the revolution. The citizens in our republic know: without a strong and well functioning socialist state there is no socialism. Only such a state can ensure the implementation of the fundamental interests of the workers class and of all working people and guarantee socialist democracy, freedom and humanism."<sup>1</sup>

U.S. imperialism and NATO have enormously exacerbated the international situation with their arms-buildup policy that threatens peace tremendously. In view of that it has become more urgent and compelling today than ever to do everything to preserve peace as the supreme benefit to mankind. For this peace-protecting and peace-preserving role our socialist state has, the domestic political stability of its governmental and legal order, a high rate of economic growth and an uninterrupted development and reinforcement of the relationship of trust between the people, the state and the party are objective and unconditional necessities. The interests and desires of our republic's citizens ultimately find their supreme expression in securing their peaceful life, their work and their happy future. In conformity with the constitutional principle that the workers and farmers power secures the people's peaceful life, protects the socialist society, and guarantees the socialist way of life, the free development, dignity and rights of the citizens, the socialist legal order is always being perfected in such a way that it meets current and future requirements. A convincing example of it are the significant laws the GDR People's Chamber ratified on 25 March 1982, such as the military service law and the law on the GDR national border.

The requirements for foreign and domestic policy development also determine the growing demands made for high public order and security in our republic. They result, as the 10th party congress resolutions have made evident, from the greater need for the protection of our workers and farmers state due to the imperialist confrontation policy and from the greater maturation of all public processes in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

#### Ensuring Order and Security--Expression of Working Class Exercise of Power and a Firm Element of Public Life

The principle of our party and state policy to do everything for the good of the people is concretely reflected in ensuring public order and security.

In our republic, in the towns and communities, in the enterprises and other facilities, the citizens can work and live in an atmosphere of high legal order, in quiet and comfort. Order and security are of high rank; they are being guaranteed at an improving quality and through ever better results. That is eloquent testimony to the superiority of the socialist social order over the exploiter system of capital in the imperialist states.

In such countries as the United States, the FRG, Italy and others, people live in constant fear and worry about criminal acts against their lives, health and property, especially in the big cities. Many of them hardly dare to go out at night, as even imperialist mass media have to admit. The police there have long lost control over the situation and the crime rate. Manifestations done away with in our republic, like organized crime, gangster methods, professional gangs, bank holdups, everyday murder and manslaughter, or devastating drug abuse are the order of the day there. In the FRG, e.g., the crime rate per 100,000 inhabitants is eight times higher than in the GDR. Crime detection has for years been below 50 percent. In our country, however, between 80 and 85 percent of all crime is detected, and between 95 and 98 percent of all serious crimes.

It reflects the high law security of GDR citizens that, among other things, crimes against personal and private property normally are less serious. The damage caused in circa half of all thefts lies below M 300. In other areas of order and security it also becomes convincingly clear that in our state the citizens' needs and concerns are the focal point of all efforts. Order, safety and liquidity in road traffic, e.g., are an indispensable prerequisite for protecting the lives and health of the people from dangers. In the last 5 years, the number of motor vehicles rose to 4.8 million. In addition there are 1.1 million trailers and more than 1.6 million motor scooters. Right now, 39 of 100 households have a car. The increasing measure of motorization affects public life more and more. There is hardly a citizen who is not affected by it in one way or another. Under these conditions it is remarkable that the rate of traffic accidents has dropped continually since 1977. At the traffic safety conference on 17 February this year, this altogether favorable development could be taken as a point of departure for further boosting our efforts on behalf of great traffic safety in accordance with the GDR's traffic safety program.

Under far-sighted party leadership and resolutions we are becoming increasingly successful in making the advantages and potentials of socialism bear fruit in public life. We are consistently implementing the 10th party congress guideline: "The more responsibly the citizens fulfil their legal obligations to society and their rights are protected, the more is done to advance honesty and a sense of responsibility, create comfort and stimulate performance."<sup>2</sup> That implies, as our party has always emphasized, further motivating the working people to find violations of the legal order intolerable and eliminating anything that would facilitate law violations, while strictly applying the Leninist principle that it is not important "that a crime is heavily punished, but it is important that not a single crime remain unsolved."<sup>3</sup> And so it is of extraordinary importance to investigate with greatest care the causes, conditions and motives for crimes and other law violations. That ensures the differentiated approach that is needed and the adequacy of measures and means.

Ensuring and constantly improving order and security is an essential element in the concrete exercise of power by the working class and all other working people. The working class is becoming increasingly aware that it is one of its very own tasks to preserve and protect all that was produced through industrious and arduous work and exercise high revolutionary vigilance. That is why the movement for high order, discipline and security had its start in the people's-owned enterprises. From there it keeps getting new impulses and suggestions time and time again. As a standard component of socialist emulation, the struggle for exemplary order and security has assumed a genuine mass character. Today we have already circa 81,000 areas or collectives bearing appropriate, officially recognized, titles, more than 75,000 of them in the national economy.

These endeavors are determined by the profound insight of the working people that socialist legality and high order and security are of great importance to the fulfilment of the tasks in the five-year plan. The economic performance improvement needed can all the more successfully be realized, the more uninhibited and smooth the economic processes become, the more carefully the people's wealth is handled, and the more reliably its protection is guaranteed.

The new dimensions in production, the most efficient use made of extensive funds, the most economical placement of investments, the determined reduction of material and energy consumption, and other essential tasks of necessity call for utmost attention to avoiding and preventing breakdown, fires and crimes.

At present, a working person is responsible for an average of M 100,000 in basic asset value. Through the use of latest science and technology data, the most modern installations are set up which in an intricate way depend on one another. These and other constantly occurring qualitative processes call for purposefully continuing our thus far successful efforts in enforcing socialist law, including the provisions on technical safety, labor safety and health protection and rigid industrial management, as conditions change. Strict cost accounting and control, proper labor organization, high discipline, cleanliness, order and security thus are still gaining in importance in the activity of the managers, economic functionaries, foremen and brigade chiefs. The main thing is for us to develop more the kind of modes of thinking and conduct among the working people commensurate with their great responsibility for complicated production processes.

The trade unions handle significant tasks in this. As the working people's largest mass organization and the representative of their interests, the FDGB purposefully carries on, at a high level, the outstanding mass initiatives for high order and security, whereby it lends new impulses to the working people's working, learning and living socialistically.

By greater efforts in that direction an important contribution is made to bringing to realization the demand of Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, who affirmed at the kreis first secretaries' conference: "The main issue in all party work and in the activity of the state organs now is to concentrate all ideological and organizational capacity on the fulfilment of the 1982 national economic plan."<sup>4</sup>

The growing social activity in ensuring high public order and security is eloquent testimony to an ever stronger spreading socialist democracy and, thus, to the strengthening of socialist state power. Right after the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, V. I. Lenin asserted that legality, order and discipline had to become the concern of the whole working class after having seized political power.<sup>5</sup> Always acting in that sense gives us the decisive key for further successes. When order and security become more and more the overall public concern, their effectiveness increases. These tasks too are being solved according to how well each dedicates himself to them every day and assumes his civic responsibility.

More and more citizens and collectives act accordingly. Their readiness for active participation is mainly expressed in their taking part in the work of the various public and official organizations. Circa 280,000 citizens are voluntary members of the social collectives for improving traffic safety (particularly in traffic safety activists groups in the enterprises and on task forces for traffic safety in communities and residential areas). Some 453,000 citizens in the ranks of the volunteer fire departments effectively sustain the high level of fire protection in our republic. Nearly 2 million citizens working as authorized house sign-out book representatives are doing responsible work. Some 15,000 appointed volunteer associates assist the domestic affairs departments under the local councils.

Many citizens are successfully involved in socialist jurisprudence as lay judges or members of conflict and arbitration commissions. Their effectiveness is going to increase further through the expanded rights of the social courts in accordance with the new law ratified by the People's Chamber on 25 March 1982. The FDJ Public Order Groups constitute an important public force. They make great efforts in educating the young people toward enforcing socialist law, order and security.

Circa 158,000 voluntary assistants of the German People's Police are engaged in responsible work. Their active educational influence has proven itself extremely well for 30 years in residential areas, enterprises, public organizations and collectives. They strongly foster the further consolidation of the citizens' law consciousness and crucially contribute to ensuring public order and security. In line with our social development, a new decree now sets down the responsibility of the voluntary assistants, the principles for their conduct in support of the People's Police, and their rights, duties and authorizations, more clearly and concretely.<sup>6</sup>

The work of the local people's representation is of high social rank. As the state power organs elected directly by the people, they are those actively engaged bodies that solve complex tasks in their spheres of responsibility while combining the activities of all state organs and social forces. That includes their unified and purposeful struggle for high legality, discipline, order and security. Especially through their permanent commissions and their activists they make sure that objectively and technically qualified citizens purposefully take part in solving those tasks.

This responsible work is now gaining greater importance. Many working people's need for a still better atmosphere of order and cleanliness in their residential area is coming more to the fore. This makes it a priority concern to develop the movement for exemplary order and security more in the citizens' leisure-time area as well and to draw general rules from the already fine examples available there. Here the National Front and its commissions are doing responsible work. The targets for the citizens' initiative, "More beautiful towns and communities--Join-in!" passed by the National Council on 21 January 1982, and meant to extend to 1985, illuminate where the emphases will be placed in the years ahead and what counts in promoting civic responsibility and democratic participation, and in turning the socialist morality and way of life still more into a habit by which citizens live.

Further successes in this field crucially depend on having the citizens sense: their own efforts and activities are supported and encouraged by the needed public and state authority, especially the local state organs. Here municipal and communal regulations turn out to be important political and legal instruments. They settle matters of working and living conditions and of the citizens' fellowship, being aimed at the further shaping of the socialist way of life and at greater security, order, cleanliness and hygiene.<sup>7</sup> Establishing far-reaching conformity between public and personal interests for solving these tasks is a requirement of significant political rank. Especially in the seemingly tiny matters of everyday, how they are approached and how the citizens get drawn into them--that often is to the individual the criterion for the quality of work done by the state organs. That is why the party rightly demands always to pay proper attention to these problems.

## An Essential People's Police Guideline: Working for the Good of the People and With Them

The objectively increased demands placed on ensuring public order and security also determine the growing responsibility of the People's Police. As the power organ of the socialist state, its supreme precept is to contribute to the protection of socialism and peace. The class mission assigned to the members of the People's Police amounts to a commitment always to ensure and further to improve the all-round strengthening and reliable protection of the workers and farmers power and its public order and security. In line with that constitutional mission, all efforts are made to protect, together with the other security and justice organs and with the working people, the socialist state and social order and the achievements of the people. So they contribute to having each citizen in our republic, while exercising his dignity, freedom and human rights, structure his life in conformity with the interests and rights of the socialist society and the state.

The thoughts and actions of the People's Police are honor bound to strengthen the authority of the workers and farmers power and socialist legality and reinforce the citizens' trust in the legality of socialist society.

All the prerequisites are in place for the German People's Police to meet these ambitious tasks. Above all, there is a politically and technically highly trained staff of personnel and cadre. A tried and tested system for training and advanced training, including colleges and technical schools of their own, make sure that the men and officers gain great Marxist-Leninist knowledge and legal and technical knowledge in their field.

Our policemen also are aware that steadily increasing demands are being made on their activity and personality. They are making greater efforts at improving the quality and efficiency of their work in implementation of the party resolutions and the administration of our state's laws, whereby to lift the political and technical qualifications and the operational readiness of all associates onto a still higher level. Deeply convinced of the just cause of socialism, and loyally dedicated to the working class party and the workers and farmers state, they increase their revolutionary vigilance and solidify their fighting strength and operational readiness. Evading no troubles, on duty day and night, in operation at any kind of weather, they responsibly and faithfully fulfil the duties they have taken on by their oath. Ever more prominently are being formed the features that are indispensable for members of a security organ of our state, such as socialist consciousness, a firm class standpoint, political steadfastness, a party-minded stance, solidarity with the people, and love for their profession.

The requirement to make order and security increasingly a concern for all society and the fact that the police are tied up in most diverse ways with all domains of life through thousands of threads constantly raise higher demands on their public efficacy. Their consistently fulfilling their tasks is an important precondition for all other state organs, social organizations, work collectives and each individual citizen to be able to exercise ever more successfully their own responsibility in also ensuring great law security, legality, order and discipline. Therefore it is an important responsibility of the

police to make more use of the working people's need always to work and live in quiet, order and security, so that everywhere the readiness is promoted to support the state organs actively in their struggle against law violations. In this, the People's Police maintains constant close cooperation with other jurisdictional organs such as the public prosecutor, the courts and the arbitration and conflict commissions. The new law on the social courts also commits the German People's Police to becoming more effective, e.g. by passing on minor criminal matters still more responsibly, cautiously and objectively.

Police activity has been and is service to the people in the truest sense of the word. The principle of police activity today more than ever is to do everything for the benefit of the people and to act for the citizens and with them. The activities of the municipal police, the traffic police, the detectives, the members of passport registration, the fire department and many other comrades directly or indirectly touch on the interests of thousands of citizens every day. Our men and officers, the uniformed representatives of the socialist state, very much stand in the public limelight. Guardians of socialist legality, they have to make socialist law prevail properly and put the principle into effect "that each law violation incurs a commensurate reaction."<sup>8</sup> It means the reaction to law violations must not only be inevitable and resolute but also just and understandable, to have as high an educational effect as possible. That calls for political sensitivity, correct conduct, great knowledge and skill, and attention to the citizens' concerns and suggestions.

Assuming these often not so simple tasks with great responsibility while making the citizens notice that taking actions and making decisions will ultimately be in their own, and in society's, interest--these are matters the police are taking care of more and more efficiently. Thereby they are making a significant contribution to steadily strengthening the citizens' confidence in their socialist state. They foster the process of law education and of voluntarily abiding by socialist law. Not last, fulfilling these important tasks in the perimeter of criminality forms an essential element in crime prevention and obviation.

The main idea of acting on behalf of the citizens pervades police activity in many ways. Extensive publicity work is wholly marked by that design. So is the work with the petitions from the citizens, eloquent testimony to the working people's readiness to play a role in keeping great public order and security. Some 94 percent of all petitions has to do with proposals, suggestions and requests for improving activities in this field. More efforts are being made in all tasks affecting the citizens to work as effectively and efficiently as possible so as not to make unnecessary inroads on the time and capacity of the working people.

There is every good reason to assert: The Leninist principle that ties with the masses are the most important and fundamental condition for success in any kind of activity is the guideline for police activity. Having been successfully in operation now for 37 years, the following principles for the work have always been irrevocable:

--Clearly focused party leadership. This year's party elections in the German People's Police also were committed to further increasing that leadership role, reinforcing the party organizations' fighting strength, and consolidating the cohesiveness in their ranks.

--Indestructible are the deep bonds of friendship between the members of the People's Police and the Soviet Union, especially with its protective and security organs. More than ever will they contribute to steadily solidifying the GDR-USSR alliance.

--The close ties with the working people, from which ranks the police themselves emerged, whose friends and helpers they are and whom they serve faithfully at all times, form a solid basis for new and higher achievements toward strengthening the socialist fatherland.

These inexhaustible sources have been and are the sure guarantee for fulfilling conscientiously and in honors all tasks assigned by the party and the state. Educated and steeled by the party, using the rich experiences and traditions of the German People's Police, our men and officers will always give their best to our socialist cause for the good of our republic and its citizens.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbüros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 49-50.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 119.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Casual Notes," "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1955, p 399.
4. "SED Central Committee Secretariat Conference with the Kreis First Secretaries--Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13/14 February 1982, p 1.
5. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Speech on Reestablishing Order in the City," "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 264.
6. Cf. "Decree on the Voluntary Assistants of the German People's Police, dated 1 April 1982," GBL Part I, No 16, 1982, pp 343 ff.
7. Cf. "Verwirklichung der Stadtordnungen--unser aller Anliegen" (Implementing Municipal Regulations--Everyone's Business), Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1981.
8. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 119.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'BORINGLY REPETITIOUS' IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION TO BE AVOIDED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 82)  
pp 627-633

[Article by Guenter Schneider, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "On the Great Demand on Our Political-Ideological Work." A translation of the EINHEIT article by Guenter Mittag, cited in footnote 2, is published under the heading, "Mittag Addresses Combine Directors on Management Tasks," in JPRS 81339, 22 Jul 82, EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS No 2296, pp 7-24]

[Text] How successfully we meet the demands of this decade crucially depends on how we perform our political mass activity, with massive effectiveness, relevance and cogent arguments. How is what one has experienced and what is obvious being given conscious awareness? How does the determination of connections reinforce the strength of conviction, and how can knowledge be effectively submitted for occupying the needed fighting positions?

Sure enough, extending the socialist revolution in the GDR makes different images appear from those of the struggles going on decades ago. Yet the Red October and the sacrificial struggle of the German workers movement, represented by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, created the preconditions for our victories of today. We no longer need barricades made of cobblestones and sand bags in our republic. Our barricades in the class struggle are of a different sort. The workers class, under SED leadership, has seized power for once and for all and keeps extending it constantly in alliance with all the forces that are united in the National Front of the GDR. The struggles in our own time surely are no less revolutionary than those in the past. In the Central Committee report to the 10th party congress, Comrade Erich Honecker remarked that the "1980's make new and higher demands on us, nationally as well as internationally. We are ready to accept the challenges of the decade."<sup>1</sup>

Accepting challenges of historic dimensions and, in spite of the aggressive barrage, the imperialist policy of confrontation and threats, carrying on with

our sound course, the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, attests to the strength of socialism and its superiority over capitalism, to our unconditional trust in our own strength and to the assurance that our cause is victorious and our course is right. Accepting challenges means facing high demands and means organizing the struggle to accomplish a decisive performance growth for the further strengthening of our republic. The Central Committee conference with the general directors of combines and SED Central Committee party organizers illuminated the demand we have and want to face: "All our work in boosting the GDR's rate of economic growth takes place within international class conflict--is indeed an important contribution to our gaining victory over imperialism in this conflict."<sup>2</sup>

This involves a steep rise in labor productivity, our intensively expanded reproduction, economic effectiveness of science and technology, and quality labor and creativeness. The ambitious commitment by the 157 centrally managed combines in industry, construction, transportation and communication, and by the 66 combines in the bezirk-managed industry, to exceed by at least a 2-day output the targets of the 1982 national economic plan for industrial commodity and building trade production, calls for a wealth of ideas, revolutionary elan and an efficient use of time and material. We are all dealing with such tasks every day and are struggling, each in his place, for thus consolidating the power of the workers class and strengthening the bastions of peace.

In this sense, Comrade Erich Honecker defined the shaping of the developed socialist society as a process in which we have to solve tasks "that by no means are less complicated or call for less revolutionary elan than those we did solve up to the triumph of the socialist production relations."<sup>3</sup> We stand amidst the revolutionary struggles of our time as previous generations stood in their time. The effects of conscious action are not any slighter today but rather larger, since on the continued shaping of real socialism with success greatly depends humanity's being or not-being.

#### Conscious Conduct for the Whole

The realization that socialism needs the awareness and creative activity of the masses has become a general experience confirmed every day. The farther we advance toward shaping developed socialism, the more extensive becomes the responsibility of each and every working person for the destinities of the whole societal entity. Millions of working people are implementing the 10th party congress policy by their achievements; they know of the connection between politics and economics and of the strength of socialism and the safeguarding of peace; they understand the consequences of what they do for society and for themselves. That is a necessary development; without it, socialism would not be possible. So, in socialism, class-conscious pondering on the sense of life does not lead into other-worldly and esoteric mysteries but to revolutionary action. Lenin has said: "To the extent that the historic creativeness of men expands and deepens there also is bound to grow the scope of the population mass that makes history consciously."<sup>4</sup>

In our political-ideological work we can rely on the people's trust in party policy. Comrade Erich Honecker pointed that out in the conference with the kreis

first secretaries: "The masses stand by our party because it struggles tenaciously for peace, the supreme good of humanity. They do so because we ensure a high material and cultural standard of living for high achievement and good work through the unity of economic and social policy that we are carrying on resolutely."<sup>5</sup> Revolutionary action is effectively encouraged through SED practical policy. Everyone perceives his own work results in visible successes. Conceived more than a decade ago, the policy of the main task has passed its test and is a testable reality and proof for that the party's words and deeds coincide. Facts evidence the correctness of our policy, which serves the good of the people. Announcements and practical steps, typically, move in the same direction, being in unity. In contrast to bourgeois policy, where high-sounding phrases in programs are meant to disguise the true aims, the Communists have always presented their ideals and goals in the open.

Most citizens in our country have gone through the school of socialism. Circa half of the working people passed through the 10-grade polytechnical secondary school, where they also acquired basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge. Technicians' training and college and technical school studies reinforce, deepen and expand technical and political knowledge. Millions of working people take part in the various forms of schooling, the party school year, the FDJ study year, or the schools for socialist work. Then there are circa 1.5 million working people each year who get further vocational training and then also receive Marxist-Leninist knowledge. This high educational level is a vast fund of conscious commitment to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society; it must be prudently used everywhere in that it is one of the initial handles for our political-ideological work. It is, of course, not enough merely to state these facts. Rather, we must pay careful attention to them and avoid a routine handling and boring repetition of well-known theses, lest we demand too little.

Important steps have been taken, under party leadership, to extend the revolution in ideology and culture. The newly developing socialist mode of thought and life, greater political interest, and the zeal for more knowledge have become typical of GDR citizens. They have rich experiences of their own through their practical involvement in the shaping of our socialist society and have gathered many political experiences in the socialist youth organization or in the trade unions, as members of parents' activists groups or of housing community leaderships. Through active participation in the management of the state and the society, a high sense of political responsibility forms, the ability to judge, decide and act from the vantage point of one's own responsibility. It is only natural that precisely one's own political activity induces a person to apply the Marxist-Leninist knowledge acquired through training, to expand it constantly and to test it against his own experience.

#### Experienced or Taken for Granted

There are not many GDR citizens who can have gained their class position through personally experienced struggles for work and bread, or against imperialist war and misery. More than half of them were born after fascism was crushed. The achievements of socialism they found were already in place, and they grew up with them. The values and advantages of the new society likewise became everyday experience. Lenin's remark that every generation "is bound to approach

socialism by different routes, not the routes, the form, the situation of its forefathers,"<sup>6</sup> penned in 1916, at a time, that is, when imperialism totally ruled the world, all the more of course applies to present days when the working class is in power and the people accomplish advances every day and enormous revolutionary changes are taking place even within one generation.

Of course, the basic matters of Marxism-Leninism and our party policy remain the cardinal issues. Yet the conditions under which they arise change, and so does the angle under which they appear. Hence, no political-ideological problem can ever be considered settled, "written off," as it were. Convictions, knowledge, arguments cannot be inherited. An experienced propagandist knows he must always again test the effect of his arguments against changing practical conditions and take into account the experience, the political maturity, the age and the knowledge of people. The socialist revolution in the GDR brought about a new reality which for previous generations still had only been the goal of revolutionary struggles, of yearnings and hopes. That is true as much of the conformity between peace and the socialist social order, of the unity between economic and social policy, of the spirit, firmly rooted in the people, of socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and internationalist solidarity, as of social justice and security in socialism, the high moral and material recognition of work performed, social and personal freedom, social security and certitude about the future, and socialist culture. That they are understood by no means makes the accomplishments of socialism any smaller--on the contrary. Indeed, the values and accomplishments of socialism are all the more seen as historic progress, the more clearly they contrast with the crisis-ridden capitalist society and the better the historic course of socialism, the magnitude of what has been achieved as the outcome of revolutionary struggles, can be traced.

Providing knowledge about the dialectic in the process of history is important. This involves a more prominent presentation of ideas about the historic pace of fundamental social processes as much as the ways and means in which the wheel of history moves, in that the triumphant march of socialism is carried on by generations and is not just a promenade, and not a uniform forward movement either, but struggle, and that means harsh and lengthy and, with it, meaningful struggle. Advances greatly depend on the quality of our work, on the scope of the commitment in society--on that each comprehends the tasks of his time as a challenge to combative dedication and creative energy.

#### Knowing in Order to Act

The development of society is based on inevitabilities objective in character. Conforming with them consciously is a fundamental principle of our party policy on the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. The universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction are criteria against which is measured the historic progress which socialism keeps extending. Therefore it is important to know and propagate them, so that revolutionary processes and their requirements are understood and keep setting off, time and time again, new revolutionary mass energies.<sup>7</sup>

There are of course no revolutionary processes without contradictions, not in socialism either. A fundamental cognition of Marxism-Leninism is that contradictions are the deepest source for all movement and development. They have to

resolved while we are moving ahead in the sense of the party policy program and, hence in the interest of the people and for its benefit. Rather than leaving that aside in our ideological work, we clarify how it all hangs together so that the requisite positions are taken in our struggle.

It is unavoidable for our political-ideological work to disseminate our justified social optimism. It is a key issue to deepen the sound scientific conviction that socialism is the most progressive history has ever produced and that the peoples' worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism is inevitable in nature. With it, we must encourage the pride in being on the correct side in the worldwide class struggle.

Domestically, the question "who--whom?" has of course long been settled in favor of the revolutionary workers class. This means no standstill. On the contrary: Our everyday experience confirms the correctness of our theory. Socialism is a dynamic social order in development. That fact is reflected in our image of socialism as drawn in our party resolutions. It would be downright damaging to consider and propagate socialism as something complete. Political-ideological work is expected to explain revolutionary processes in revolutionary terms.

Consider the 10th party congress resolution to carry on the policy of the main task throughout the 1980's. That decision, in view of the changed conditions in the late 1970's, is of great revolutionary importance as it calls on us to tap all reserves and potentials inherent in our society. In talking, e.g., about fulfilling the housing construction program, we are not only mindful of the considerable quantitative increase in dwelling units, but this amounts to a revolutionary solution of a social problem. The 1976-1980 plan was to build or modernize 750,000 apartments. We achieved as many as 813,000. Rentals remained the same; they come to circa 4 percent of a family income. Is there any capitalist country that can set such a goal and has such facts to show for? Or take our effort at raising labor productivity. Many tasks of great scope have to be resolved to meet the demands of the times, such as enforcing the economic strategy the 10th party congress announced, the shaping of a socialist attitude toward work in each collective, the resolute implementation of the socialist performance principle--to mention but a few. It is the responsibility of our political-ideological work always again to create awareness of the historic scope of our efforts in extending the socialist revolution and to strengthen the working people's responsibility for the commonweal at large.

Our political-ideological work always is successful if we can explain all variety in life from the point of view of our Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, reveal the inevitabilities behind events, and strengthen the resolve to dedicate oneself to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and even leave one's own tracks on the path of the socialist revolution.

Our approach to shaping class-bound attitudes must still more effectively conform to Comrade Erich Honecker's reminder to realize still more in our political-ideological work "the unity of Marxist-Leninist instruction of knowledge, indoctrination and practical organization."<sup>8</sup> Those three components must be given equal attention. Political-ideological work embraces the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas as well as the forming of social traits that suit our society, such as political steadfastness, collectivity, conscious discipline and readiness

for achievements. A class-conscious attitude always expresses itself in class-conscious action, in the unity between words and deeds. Marxist-Leninist knowledge failing to turn into revolutionary activity would just be dead bookishness.

#### A Compass for Worldwide Change

The increased demands on political-ideological work arise particularly also from the intensification of the class conflict between socialism and imperialism. Especially in view of the fact that imperialism does not get to make the move it wants to make and cannot stop the triumphant march of socialism and that it is facing an ever broadening peace front opposing its course toward war, it does what it can to stop and reverse the wheel of history. No lie there is it shies away from nor any adventurous war preparations and impassioned threats of war.

It follows from all this that we must "bring out still more clearly the dialectic, the essence and appearances in the tough class conflict going on worldwide,"<sup>9</sup> and develop political-ideological work in all domains of society so that all working people are reached by the word from the party, each understands the nature of the policy the 10th party congress has issued, and recognizes, and assumes in a class-conscious manner, his own responsibility for further reinforcing and defending the workers and farmers power. Our scientific world-outlook, Marxism-Leninism, is the compass for understanding the world and for changing it in terms of working class ideals. Millions of working people in our country think and act in that spirit.

Among the challenges of the 1980's is to do everything to put still more completely into effect the values and advantages of real socialism, so as to provide the persuasive evidence every day that our social order is superior to the imperialist exploiter society. Real socialism is the strongest bastion of world peace; its steady forward development gives at equal measures the fighters for progress all over the world backing, strength and courage for their own national and social liberation. And so the steady strengthening of our economic capability and each working person's daily efforts on behalf of socialism acquire an important historic dimension which, as every working person is aware, strengthens his sense of responsibility and his resolve to do what he can for the consolidation and defense of the GDR. In this sense the "struggle for the minds of men is the main battlefield for the future of mankind."<sup>10</sup>

Our party has always regarded ideological work as the innermost core of its efforts and always has done what it could to convince people of the truthfulness of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of our course, whereby to draw them, in every phase of our development, into conscious actions for socialism. Daily indoctrination, the party's dialogue with the entire people, is typical of the political style of our efforts. This amounts to a broad spectrum that starts with everyday living and logically ranges all the way to the meaning of life and the key problem of war or peace. It is understood that the success of our political-ideological work also depends on the quality of the analysis of the thinking and actions of the people. To know what is best and the weak points as well, the strength of the collectives and their weaknesses, and the conditions under which achievements are performed--all that is important.

The efficacy of our agitprop critically depends on the ability of the propagandist to make use in political talk of the unity between the scientific world-outlook, Marxist-Leninist policy, and the real life process. Class standpoint here means always to ask the question whether something benefits our good socialist cause or not. To answer that, one has to know the inevitabilities and large political context behind daily events. Being equipped with concrete arguments on topical matters and theoretical profundity makes for no contradiction, nor are these alternatives. Experience has shown that only someone who knows about basics can pursue arguments into details. That is why special attention attaches to conveying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its wealth of theory. We refer here to the basic positions of Marxism-Leninism, its rigorous materialism, the nature of the dialectic as the all-inclusive and most profound doctrine on development, the theory of the class struggle and the world-historic revolutionary role of the workers class.

The combative nature of Marxism-Leninism, after all, is a factor of its power to convince. Always, Marxism-Leninism has developed through confrontation and proven itself in the struggle as an instrument for changing the world for the benefit of working man. Converting these alive elements into igniting arguments is what characterizes our political-ideological work.

#### Establishing Connections Helps Strengthen the Power of Conviction

In each developmental phase of our revolutionary movement, solving the tasks of the day comes closely combined with Marxist-Leninist education. Each step in truly advancing is being prepared in that the party discusses the "ground plan" with the people, analyzes the experiences gathered through public activity and takes them into account, and issues action guidelines from the vantage point of our theory. A thorough analysis of men's thoughts, knowledge and acts and a thorough knowledge of their joys and sorrows are crucial for making agitprop highly effective. That is why this party organization work is so very important. It, after all, makes possible a differentiated approach, a consideration for the political maturity, the education, the age and other factors. The propagandists and agitators, the teachers and college instructors, and those comrades who have systematically paved the way of access to Marxism-Leninism for generations of citizens in our country, whereby they have helped lay the foundations for class-bound thoughts and actions, have had a great share in our successful ideological work.

Political-ideological work to us is never an end in itself but always education and training on behalf of the demands of the class struggle. That is how we explain our strategy and the next step we take. That turns ideological work into something that combines the instruction of knowledge with participating in the struggle for materializing our conception of society. It is aimed at drawing mass activity for the struggle for the implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions from the conviction that our doctrine and our party policy are correct. This also is the way we must understand the remark in our party program that it is the basic concern of the SED's political-ideological activity "to provide the workers class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, explain party policy to them, develop their socialist thinking, feeling and action, mobilize them for solving the tasks, and steel them against any influences from imperialist and bourgeois ideology."<sup>11</sup>

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker: "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 8.
2. Guenter Mittag, "High Performance Increase for the Further Strengthening of Our Republic," EINHEIT, No 5, 1982, pp 464-465.
3. Erich Honecker, "The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions," "Reden und Aufsaetze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 24.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Which Legacy Can We Renounce?" "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 536.
5. Erich Honecker, "Full Steam Ahead for the Well-being and Happiness of the People," NEUER WEG, No 5, 1982, p 164.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Youth International," "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 164.
7. Cf. the Topic: "Universal Inevabilities of the Socialist Revolution and the Construction of the New Society," EINHEIT, No 1, 1982, pp 7 ff.
8. Erich Honecker, "Full Steam Ahead . . .," op. cit., p 164.
9. Ibid., p 165.
10. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbüros an die 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Politburo Report to the Third SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 57.
11. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 66.

5885  
CSO: 2300/379

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PHILOSOPHICAL WORK ON CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 82)  
pp 665-667

[Review by Prof Dr Klaus Goessler, Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Karl Marx University, Leipzig; of book "Dialektik des Sozialismus" (Dialectics of Socialism), collectively authored under supervision of Prof Alfred Kosing, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1981. Translations of the official text of the "Central Research Plan of the GDR's Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences, 1981-85," cited in a footnote, and of an SED Central Committee commentary on the plan are published in JPRS 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854 of this series, pp 23-54 and 55-64, respectively]

[Text] A new publication has enriched the literature on the developed socialist society and the shaping of it, collectively authored and put out by the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee. It deserves a solid place in our philosophical instruction and propaganda.

With this publication the authors face the demand made in the central research plan on the Marxist-Leninist philosophers, to continue "purposeful research on the dialectics in the developed socialist society" \* and turn it into a major aspect of their work. By applying the theory and method of materialist dialectics to research on the socialist society and, under this aspect, drawing general rules from the practical experiences in the shaping of developed socialism, they are making an important contribution at once to philosophic work and to establishing the unity of theory and practice, and of philosophy and politics.

The subject of the investigation is the objective dialectic of socialism, "the special qualitative shape of the general social dialectic in the first developmental phase of communist society" (p 34). It is not their intent to attach dialectical labels to real social processes but to comprehend socialism in its qualitative specifics and historic conditions and disclose its inevitabilities, contradictions and impulses.

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\*"Central Research Plan of the GDR's Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences, 1981-85," EINHEIT, No 12, 1980, p 1212

"It is in line with the objective dialectics of social development that first basic aspects of the dialectic development of the socialist mode of production are examined because it is the decisive material foundation of socialist society" (p 21). From that basic materialist position such philosophically essential criteria for developed socialism are presented as the dialectics between objective and subjective conditions for historic action under socialism, the developed socialist society as an organic whole, dialectic contradictions in the shaping of the developed socialist society, the impulses in socialist society, the dialectics of the national and the international and the dialectics in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Those problems mentioned designate both the contents and the arrangement of the chapters. It is refreshing that the answers to the questions that arise are given not by way of proclamation but by way of discussion, that they are worked out through polemics against hostile positions and also by weighing various standpoints that can be found in Marxist-Leninist philosophical literature. At times, however, one would have wished the authors, in the arrangement and in the presentation of their problems, had traced more the particular logic of the particular subject (cf. p 41). The chapters in part more follow one another than are spreading out, continuing ideas that directly complement each other.

Strengthening methodological cogency and theoretical systematics is an important way for further enhancing the theoretical level, quality and social effectiveness of research. That presupposes, no doubt, to have explored in detail philosophically essential and fundamental factors of the objective dialectics in socialism. And that is done by the authors with a density, completeness, concreteness and consistency unprecedented in our philosophical literature. That constitutes one of the essential advances of knowledge in this publication.

The main idea of the work is the experience and realization that "socialist society is nothing static, not an ideal condition created for once and for all, but is subject to constant change and development," (p 17) and that consequently the theory on socialist society is not definitive either but is being "developed, enriched, specified and deepened" (p 18). The authors have been persuasively successful with this main idea, especially because they consistently document this by the ongoing history in the development of socialism itself, trace the formation and perfection of what is qualitatively new in the dialectics of socialism in all its intricacy and contradictoriness, and thereby come to take issue with ahistoric and undialectic conceptions and bourgeois distortions of real socialism.

E.g., in analyzing the impulses of socialism it is being shown that the conformity between social, collective and personal interests is not lifeless, abstract, given for once and for all. The very reason that it is a new impulse is that interests "are utterly dynamic in nature, a contradictory unity of the possible and the necessary, of the subjective and the objective, in which, under the impact of economic, social, political, cultural and ideological, intra-state and international influences, new things constantly originate and affect one another" (p 269).

From the overruling weight of material interests and the historic place of socialism the authors deduce "that the material incentive principle plays the crucial role in the overall system of impulses for socialist labor" (p 278).

For that reason they pay special attention to essential ideological aspects of the implementation of the performance principle. They logically take as their point of departure, for one thing, "the strict abiding by the materialist standpoint," i.e., "the material social conditioning in the current application of that principle" (p 279). Secondly, they regard that principle as "a fundamental historic accomplishment both in its substance and in its overall social and personality-forming efficacy" (p 283). Third, to them the "consistent realization of the performance principle is a crucial condition for developing socialist consciousness" (p 284). Fourth, they realize "that the totality of impulses for individual action must by no means be reduced to the efficacy of material incentives" (p 290). By the detailed discussion of these aspects, important ideological orientations are provided for propaganda and mass political work on concretely enforcing the performance principle.

The authors' desire to present the theory on socialist society as one that is under development is reflected particularly in their taking positions on problems in Marxist-Leninist theory under discussion, discuss arguments expertly, and soundly develop their own positions. That pertains particularly to the dialectics of socialism and communism, of productive forces and production relations, of objective and subjective factors, and of the national and the international.

It is worth noting their arguments on the matter of contradictions in socialism. Coming to grips with the issue of whether in socialism contradiction can still be an impulse in the first place, whether it had not changed its nature, they defend the position of dialectical materialism that even developments under socialism are marked by objective contradictions, evolving and moving, and to be resolved. They "spread as contrasts in 'contest' and form the most important impetus for social progress and are being resolved when the conditions are ripe" (p 203). Contradictions are and remain sources and impulses for development in socialism. The contrast with previous forms of society lies in the character of the contradictions. "Whereas the fundamental contradictions that determine the development of society in capitalism and earlier types of class societies were antagonistic in character, the contradictions in socialist society have lost that antagonistic character and are nonantagonistic contradictions" (p 216). The term "nonantagonistic contradictions" expresses "the new historic quality of social contradictions in socialism" (p 218). Under that aspect the reader is likely also to find interesting what is being said about contradictions and conformity of interests (cf. pp 237-241).

The authors have every good reason to polemicize against casually identifying contradictions with unsatisfactory situations and against distinguishing between "useful" and "harmful" contradictions. Opposing that, they say: "All contradictions are essential sources and impulses for development; unsuitable forms of motion only produce negative effects and block development" (p 227). Thus, under certain conditions, caused by objective or subjective factors or both, any social contradiction may intensify and turn into conflict, which always also has negative effects on development. Distinguishing between "useful" and "harmful" contradictions usually goes together with a moralizing attitude and, in fact, deflects from the task that is so important to management activity, "always to keep in mind the proportion and motion of contrasts underlying the contradictions,

compute, when essential decisions are to be made, the possible consequences for the forms in which the contradictions may move, and thereby largely prevent an intensification of the contradictions and discrepancies" (pp 227-228).

Altogether it may be said: The authors not only provide information on the current state of development in the theory on socialist society, they also make a contribution to its further elaboration. Along with what has already been referred to, we should mainly mention here the detailed account of socialism as a society of its own specific and typical socioeconomic quality. That refers not only to the first chapter which, among other things, works out the new quality of the social dialectics in socialism, or to the fourth chapter, which analyzes the developed socialist society as an organic whole, but is an essential concern all through the book.

The present work is the first philosophical publication in the GDR that set itself the task to examine the dialectics of socialism as a whole and present it systematically. Doing so, the authors enter virgin territory. While they can rely on their own and other social science research results, their publication also indicates gaps still existing in the current state of research. What one misses is an analysis of the dialectics in the intellectual process of life and its being determined by the process of material life in the developed socialist society and the active repercussion it has on it. The authors stress as the first sign of the historically new quality of the dialectics in socialism "that the overall social developmental process loses its spontaneous character and increasingly becomes a conscious process, systematically managed with insight into the objective inevitabilities" (p 48).

And there are many points in the book where they talk of the growing importance of socialist awareness and socialist consciousness, of the need to spread the intellectual-cultural advantages of socialism, of fashioning the subjective factor, of the intellectual potentials of socialism as an ever more essential factor for economic growth, and so forth. Yet the production and functions of this awareness and of these intellectual-cultural potentials are nowhere analyzed in terms of their contradictory dialectics. The dialectics of its intellectual process of life is, however, certainly less an aspect of the dialectics of socialism than those that are treated as the chief problems. Greater concern for these matters and a still more extensive examination of the basic contradiction of our era, especially of the interaction between the internal and external contradictions of socialism, and of the modification of the internal ones by the external ones, would be in line with propaganda requirements in our times and further deepen in its substance the valuable work at hand.

The authors have done well in presenting in a sound propaganda manner the results of their research and the discussion of the theoretical problems raised in that process. Generally they use a clear and intelligible language, take a position on important philosophical issues in public life, argue objectively and convincingly with facts, even if somewhat too sparingly, and expertly come to grips with imperialist, reformist and revisionist attacks upon real socialism. Along with matters already mentioned, a propagandist can find answers to philosophic and ideological questions resulting from contradictions and changes in the social character and substance of labor, the changes in the needs of the

working people, the new quality of interrelations between objective conditions and subjective factors, the establishing of unity between central planning and creative mass initiative, and the relation between the national and international in socialist construction. Thereby he can gather many stimuli, arguments and guidelines for his activity. One should wish the book a wide dissemination.

5885

CSO: 2300/379

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LISTINGS, SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 7 May 82)  
'Resumes' addendum

[Text] The Topic: Capitalist Crisis and Imperialist Policy

How are monopoly capitalism's leading circles trying to extricate themselves from the intensifying crisis of their system? How does this become apparent in decisive areas of imperialist policy? This topic is discussed in the following five contributions:

- 1) "Roots and Driving Forces of the Imperialist Course of Confrontation" (pp 569-576), by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board.
- 2) "U.S. Imperialism's Pretensions to Global Domination" (pp 577-582), by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW); chairman, Scientific Council for Research on Imperialism; member, EINHEIT editorial board.
- 3) "Antisocial Course Against the Working People" (pp 583-588), by Prof Dr Horst Hemberger, economist, deputy director, faculty for Political Economy of Capitalism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee.
- 4) "Facts and Figures on the Imperialist Business With Armament" (pp 589-590), unsigned article.

5) "Facts and Figures on Drastic Cuts in Social Benefits [in the West]" (pp 591-592), by Eckbert Krappe, economist, research assistant, faculty for Political Economy of Capitalism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee.

#### Utilizing Society's Labor Capacities Efficiently

[Summary of article by Wolfgang Beyreuther, social scientist, member, SED Central Committee; state secretary for labor and wages; pp 601-607. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Inefficiencies in Use of Labor, Machinery Criticized," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] A qualitative development of society's labor capacities and utilizing them most effectively are imperative for consistent economic growth. How must scientific-technical progress be focused on it? How is the great educational potential to be used? What are the tasks of the local state organs in developing the labor capacities? About that, the article conveys extensive experiences in successful management activity.

#### Thirty Years of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives (LPG)

[Summary of article by Norbert Geipel, graduate in agricultural science; candidate member, SED Central Committee; secretary, SED Neubrandenburg Bezirk Management; pp 608-612]

[Text] The historic resolution by the second party conference of fully supporting the voluntary merger between working peasants and rural workers in production cooperatives is used as an occasion for tracing the 30 years behind us in the successful implementation of socialist agricultural policy in Neubrandenburg Bezirk and presenting those tasks which are facing today the cooperative farmers of both sexes and all working people in socialist agriculture.

#### On the Way to the Seventh Pioneer Rally

[Summary of article by Helga Labs, member, SED Central Committee; secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ); chairperson, Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization; pp 613-619. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Diversified are the activities of the young pioneers in learning, sports and games, in cultivated leisure time and in socially useful work. What motivations come from the pioneer mission, "Pioneer Expedition--Always Ready," for interesting substantial

group life and for preparing the pupils for their future tasks in socialist society? How do the comrades and other social forces--mainly the pedagogues, parents, sponsorship brigades and FDJ members--aid the communist education in the pioneer groups and friendships?

#### West German Commentary On Helga Labs Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German no 86, 9 Jun 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "Enemy Familiarization Training for GDR Children to Start 'as Early as Possible.'"]

[Text] Enemy familiarization training for GDR children is to start "as early as possible," even within the families. That has been demanded by the SED paper FREIHEIT (4 June 1982) which is published in Halle. That included among other things "that children are clearly and unmistakably told who their enemies are, how they act and why they act the way they do." Such critical assessments were "significant for the development of a childlike political world image, because that is the point of departure for the child's activity in coming to grips independently with false, mendacious conceptions of the enemy image." Critical evaluations and issue-taking with such conceptions eventually would fortify the child's political convictions.

The chairperson of the GDR childrens' organization, Helga Labs, also has called for further activities for contributing among children "still more effectively to the formation of an unshakable socialist class standpoint." In the most recent edition of the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1982), she called for picking up more strongly the children's interest in "combative political discussions" and for bringing the children to the point "at which they can increasingly answer their own political questions in a party-minded manner." That was one of the most essential goals of the ideological activity of the children's organization in the GDR.

#### KPD's Struggle for Antifascist Action

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Paul Heider, colonel; pp 634-640]

[Text] The KPD's struggle for an upsurge in the anti-fascist mass movement in 1932 was among the most creditable deeds of Thaelmann's party and one of our best traditions. Through focusing on the antifascist united front, the KPD was the only political force to offer the German people a historic alternative for the fascist course of the German monopoly bourgeoisie. In this it applied all forms of economic and political struggle and, fighting against Nazi terror, combined the ideological struggle with the militant and massive self-protection of the working people.

## Ideological Diversion in NATO's Aggressive Strategy

[Summary of article by Dr Wolfgang Haentzschel, lieutenant colonel; pp 641-647. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Aggressive NATO strategy attributes great importance to ideological diversion. On the basis of a far-flung program, NATO institutions are increasingly being turned into central managerial institutions for general staff direction for it, and intelligence services are included in directing ideological diversion, which is aimed at affecting domestic conditions especially of the socialist states subversively, aggressively and seditiously, with contempt for international law, so as to undermine and destroy their social order.

### West German Commentary on W. Haentzschel Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 85, 8 Jun 82 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Fears 'Ideological Subversion'--'Active Defense' Against All Infiltration Attempts Demanded"]

[Text] In its most recent edition, the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1981) has warned against alleged Western attempts at "destabilizing" the GDR by means of "ideological diversion." It asked party members "aggressively and effectively to oppose" such attempts and crush "the class enemy's ideological attacks" because it would not happen automatically. An "aggressive fight against imperialist ideology and its attempt at infiltration" could not be confined to the ideological sphere but concerned all domains in society. An "active defense against ideological diversion attempts," according to EINHEIT, required "more than ever high political-ideological vigilance on the basis of unshakable class positions and constantly perfecting one's own Marxist-Leninist knowledge so that each communist can work independently and convincingly as a propagandist and agitator even under complicated class struggle conditions."

If You Don't Want to Be the Anvil, You Have to Be the Hammer!

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Schumacher, department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 648-654]

[Text] This article is devoted to Georgiy Dimitrov, the great son of the Bulgarian people, the outstanding international labor leader and true friend of the Soviet Union, written on the occasion of his 100th birthday. His work was closely linked with the struggle of the revolutionary German workers movement and with Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck. His brave stand in Leipzig during the trial on the Reichstag fire remains unforgettable, where he unmasked the fascists as arsonists before the entire world and dealt them a political-moral defeat of international scope.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DISSIDENT WRITER HERMLIN ON UNOFFICIAL GDR PEACE MOVEMENT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 19 Jul 82 p 14

[ 'Documentation' feature interview with Stephan Hermlin, GDR writer, by Harald Kleinschmid, for Deutschlandfunk: "'We Must Step on It a Little, We Must Increase the Speed'--GDR Writer Stephan Hermlin in a Radio Interview Defined the Peace Movement Thus: It Is a Fight Against Dangerous Neuroses"]

[Text] Harald Kleinschmid, for Deutschlandfunk, discussed with GDR writer Stephan Hermlin such topics as the GDR peace movement, Eastern rockets and Western rockets, and culture in the GDR. Hermlin was the initiator of the "Berlin Encounter," a meeting of writers from the East and West which took place in December of last year in East Berlin and had "peace" for its main theme. The following interview is published in uncut form.

[Question] The Berlin Encounter which you, Stephan Hermlin, initiated last December in order to promote peace among writers from East and West has met with considerable response not only in the GDR but also in large parts of Europe. There were follow-up encounters, such as the meeting in The Hague less than 4 weeks ago, and we now have here in Cologne "Interlit," a movement with a broad international and even intercontinental basis. Writers from East and West are making joint commitments to peace. My first question: have your original expectations been fulfilled or is the situation not rather as Guenter Gaus described it in The Hague: that the tendency toward war has meanwhile grown faster than the peace movement? I am thinking of Lebanon, the Falkland Islands and other similar cases.

[Answer] I believe that both developments must be seen in joint perspective. I consider the observation made by Guenter Gaus in The Hague very noteworthy. It struck me as important when I heard it, and I am still thinking of it today. There is no statement that could call for greater vigilance than this one by Gaus.

Anybody, therefore, who makes a commitment for peace must ask himself if his position is correct. And it is possible that it is correct. But that does not mean, on the other hand, that one should get discouraged. In that case we must step on it a little more, we must increase our speed. Some time ago, the expression "struggle for peace" was used for many years--and was sometimes belittled. But it is a struggle. It is a struggle for the souls of people. It is a struggle against dangerous neuroses.

[Question] Stephan Hermlin, you have given me two key words: struggle for peace and vigilance. In your country, the GDR, the Berlin Encounter has had a certain effect. Young Christians who made a commitment for social peace service [in place of military service] felt strengthened in their convictions. There was the peace demonstration by 5,000 people in Dresden's Church of the Cross, and that was followed by the inevitable reversal: the new military service law, the further militarization of GDR society under the slogan "Peace Must Be Armed," and finally the government directive against wearing the emblem "Peace Into Plowshares"--all this, last but not least under the key words of "Revolutionary Vigilance." Has the encouragement that emanated from the Berlin Encounter been turned in the opposite direction?

[Answer] No, that has not happened. The effects of the Berlin Encounter are diverse and complex. This is a good thing. The effects are continuing. The encounter is being discussed again and again. Every day I get letters or telephone calls about this matter. But a few things have to be corrected here and have to be looked at in a certain perspective. The GDR--this is my firm conviction--is not one of the aggressive countries. As everybody knows, the GDR is not a neutral country. It is integrated into one of the two large blocs. It is a fact that the American threat--I have a firm opinion on this matter, just as almost everybody else has--is directed to a considerable extent also against the GDR, to be sure.

Certain statements were made by us in Berlin and The Hague which in effect must first reach the consciousness of mankind--and that cannot happen overnight--primarily the idea that additional rearmament has become senseless. This idea is still weak in comparison with the traditional reaction: the moment somebody threatens me I shall try to threaten in turn, or in other words I shall say: now I am really going to arm myself. And the GDR--a fact that can surprise nobody--after a period of relatively quiet development and especially after a decrease in tensions between the two German states is suddenly confronted by a new U.S. policy. And I, for one, am not surprised that government leaders are reacting in this manner.

[Question] But may I perhaps interrupt you at this point. There are people here in the West who likewise feel threatened by Soviet SS-20 rockets.

[Answer] Yes, of course. You know, our terrible situation is caused by the fact that people, ordinary people who live anywhere know that when rockets are placed there, allegedly for their protection, they themselves become at the time targets for other rockets because they live next to the targets. I believe that the almost atavistic reactions to threats of this kind are to a large extent obstacles to a clear recognition of the facts. As soon as we, too, come to this recognition--because we need it as much as others--then we will see, e.g., no longer a threat in those young people wearing emblems that tell us to beat swords into plowshares.

I want to emphasize--in recent times I have had several talks on these matters with people in responsible positions, and I found some sympathy--I believe that the most flagrant exaggerations have already been erased from the minds

of certain people and that it is now recognized that this emblem, this saying is not only for Christians but must be a saying for all socialists. Because our final goal, the final goal of socialists, is a world in which swords are beaten into plowshares. This, therefore, is not the language of enemies but rather the language of friends.

[Question] A week ago, Stephan Hermlin, large peace demonstrations were held in West Berlin and Bonn, e.g., 300,000 people marched in protest against the threats by American as well as Soviet nuclear weapons. When, in view of what you just said, might it be possible to have a demonstration of this kind in the GDR by people wearing the emblem "Swords Into Plowshares"?

[Answer] I am no prophet, you know. It is impossible for me to predict this. But one thing is certain: the threat by Soviet rockets--I willingly accept this expression--is triggered by U.S. initiatives where suddenly, after a consensus on a possible balance has existed for a long time, statements were made that the American side would have to rearm enormously, primarily in the nuclear field, and where subsequently statements were even made--countless quotations are available--that this time the struggle is not for a balance but rather for nuclear superiority on the American side.

[Question] Stephan Hermlin, may I remain for a moment with the question of the peace movement in the GDR. At the meeting in The Hague, Stefan Heym made a statement that caused much concern and, in a way, indicated that the GDR peace movement is divided into an official and an unofficial side.

[Answer] I consider it nonsensical and dangerous to talk about a divided peace movement. It can always result in bad impressions. Experience shows that. There is only one peace movement. And this peace movement comprises many different ideas on how peace can be brought about. If sincere people are involved here, people who really want peace, then they must tolerate each other. This is no division but rather a meeting of different opinions all of which have the same goal: peace.

[Question] When writers talk about peace, isn't there the danger that they will very quickly adopt political attitudes: that in the way of all politicians they will agree on the same common denominator and that thereby--I call to mind the discussion in The Hague--the common protest, e.g., against martial law in Poland and the military dictatorship in Turkey is forgotten because there are several questions on which there can be no consensus? Are not in this way the goals that you had originally set for yourself blotted out? Should the danger be ruled out that meetings of writers can also be misused by politicians?

[Answer] If you create a movement, or support it, you run the danger that it might be misused, misinterpreted, or mistaken for something else. This is the chance you have to take. On the point you are making I have a definite opinion. I don't believe that it is useful for the peace movement to deal with other important questions. And therefore I cannot believe that questions of military dictatorship should be thrown in with questions of peace. Because if we start talking about internal conditions of countries, and how these conditions must be changed in order to bring about peace, we lose our important chances and destroy an important movement.

[Question] Still, one can also, of course, defend the opinion that internal peace and external peace have a direct connection.

[Answer] In that case, we shall never reach an agreement. As far as internal peace is concerned, it depends also on the consensus of the respective population. People have many different ideas on the kind of government they want to see in their countries. These ideas are different, e.g., in Cambodia and the PR Mongolia, in England and the FRG.

Here we would never come to a conclusion.

[Question] In regard to the question of peace there was considerable disagreement between FRG and GDR writers during the meetings in Berlin and The Hague. But Dutch observers in The Hague had the impression that the Germans from the East and West would like nothing better than to fall into each other's arms if they only could. There is obviously concern among European neighbors in East and West about too much German-German unity. Is this concern justified?

[Answer] I do not think so. I can understand this concern because behind it there always is the terrifying specter of a German reunification directed against the interests of all European countries. Even though some people might regret this fact, it cannot be denied. It has historical causes. The desire of the people of Europe is: Germany must not become too strong economically and militarily. But do the Germans themselves have the desire to become too strong economically and militarily? I don't believe so. I believe that the Germans living on the left or right side of the Elbe River know that they are the ones most threatened, the ones first threatened. There is almost an unspoken mutual agreement on this point. People understand each other very much better now than a few years ago.

[Question] Stephan Hermlin, in the summer of 1978, at the GDR Writers' Congress, you stated openly that you are a German writer living in the GDR. The unity of German literature thus seems to be no problem for you, even though there are leading politicians in your country who differentiate not only between two German literatures but also between two cultures in the two German states, between a socialist and a capitalist national culture.

[Answer] Of course I am a German writer who lives in the GDR and is a citizen of the GDR. But it is a well-known fact that there are 17 million Germans living in the GDR. As far as literature is concerned, I don't want to quarrel with the ideas of other people. Frankly, they don't interest me. I have my idea and I believe that it is logical.

I stated simply that GDR literature exists, without doubt, but that this GDR literature is a branch on a very old tree. This tree is 1,200 years old. It is called German literature. And today there are several branches on this tree. I see four main branches--we should really call them limbs. These four are the literatures of the FRG, the GDR, the German literature written in Switzerland, and Austrian literature. All this belongs to German literature. This is logical. It does not hurt anybody. Nobody needs to be offended by this. Including the GDR. The GDR is a very respected limb on this tree.

[Question] And how about the cultures?

[Answer] In my opinion, this does not make any sense at all.

Culture is a phenomenon which, even though influenced by class structures and class powers, is independent of them. But the culture of a country is a constant factor that extends into the future to an unlimited degree and under one social structure or another, if you want to call it that. And I believe that an important writer of a country, who is a communist, would express serious reservations if he were not considered a part of his national culture, not of his national capitalist or socialist culture but of his national culture per se. This is a constant factor which has always existed and will exist in the future.

[Question] Mr Hermlin, you have always thought of yourself as a writer who has to get involved in politics. In the already mentioned speech at the Writers' Congress 4 years ago, when you labeled yourself, so to speak, as a post-bourgeois writer, this statement was at that time often interpreted as a challenge to the cultural policy of the SED. What is your opinion on the situation of artists and writers in your country?

[Answer] First, I want to say that my statement was absolutely not a challenge to the cultural policy of my party with which I am in agreement. But I thought it appropriate for many personal reasons, which I don't want to discuss here, to state before the plenary session who I really am and to mention some facts that most members no longer seem to remember: that I am a very old communist with middle-class background, and all this is really nothing new, nothing sensational. These facts must at times be called to mind.

[Question] Still, one other word on GDR cultural policy. In 1976, there was the important event of the expatriation of Biermann. Today, more than half a decade later, the impression arises that there has been some consolidation at least toward the outside. Nevertheless, there are still cases where young writers cannot publish in the GDR and must publish in the West.

[Answer] You noticed correctly that there has been some improvement. There is no doubt about that. I don't want to come back to events that have really been discussed enough. But we must recognize very clearly that in a difficult period of the development of a new society, of a new state, there can always be very important misunderstandings and very serious errors, also in this particular respect. If a case becomes known--and that happens--where a writer who is considered important or at least talented cannot publish for one reason or another, then his cause must be supported.

On the other hand, we should not forget that there are writers--I shall speak about this very frankly on this occasion--who consider other writers, especially young and talented people, an unwanted competition, and who are not at all interested in seeing the works of their young colleagues published. Yes, this kind of thing exists. And then there is something else. And my dear Mr Kleinschmid, you must permit me to say this too: there are some young people who don't have much talent but have great ambition. On the basis of certain

experiences in the past few years, these people suddenly think that a writer can become very well known simply because he has come in conflict with government authorities. And then these people try everything in their power to become writers of this kind.

[Question] Nevertheless, I want to ask once more. Can a writer become a danger to a country as strong as the GDR to the extent that such measures are necessary?

[Answer] No, this is not possible. I am absolutely opposed to this exaggerated fear, and I try to talk other people out of it, too. And I believe that there is a little less of this senseless fear existing today.

[Question] If you consider the state of relations between the two German states today, half a year after the meeting of writers invited by you, a meeting that began, perhaps not completely without coincidence, on the day that marked the end of FRG Chancellor Schmidt's visit with SED Secretary General Honecker--your personal friend, as the saying here goes--what is your personal conclusion on the relations between the two German states?

[Answer] First, I would like to tone down quickly this idea of "personal friend." This is a little dramatic and exaggerated. We know each other, that is all. We have known each other for some time. As to the relations between the two German states, I believe it is too early to draw any conclusions. The writers' meeting was just half a year ago. We must not forget that relations are constantly slowed down without any direct intentions on the part of the two German states. They are slowed down by the present world situation.

The Germans want to live in peace in two different countries next to each other. What they want--and that is justified--is that the two countries establish the most friendly relations possible, and that everybody in his own place make some contribution toward achieving this goal. This is also in the interest of all other people. And this opens up other perspectives: where relations are deepened, the feeling of being threatened fades away.

[Question] And that also includes the easing of restrictions for the people in both countries.

[Answer] Yes, of course, if does. It results in more frequent exchange, in more intensive communication back and forth, in more travel, I can imagine. All this is important in regard to the question of peace. And on both sides, in both German states, there must be a firm will to get along with, rather than be driven against, one another.

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CSO: 2300/357

SOCIALIST THEORY OF ECONOMICS UNDER ATTACK

Budapest FIGYEL0 in Hungarian 12 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] "You needn't worry, we'll keep an eye on them!" The foregoing was intended as a reassuring statement and was made at a briefing where a member of the audience wondered whether small enterprises could be reconciled with our socialist principles. I don't know whether the questioner was reassured by the speaker's response--he was head of a regional organization--but his reply was far from reassuring to me. It's not that I share the fears of the questioner, but because the words of the speaker made it appear that small enterprises represent a compromise of our principles.

Unfortunately, such an opinion stemming from lack of misunderstanding of the economic policy is far from being the exception. Therefore, if we take our economic objectives and the mechanism adopted in 1968 seriously, we must make a far greater effort than up to now in clarifying the motivation of the changes and making them acceptable.

It will not suffice merely to label the small enterprises "socialist" and behave as though by doing this they would blend smoothly into the image of socialism we have held up to now. If we fail to state clearly that what we want is indeed different in many respects from the past, if we now take no stand against certain old, outdated or a priori erroneous ideas, then our strategic efforts will appear to be merely matters of tactics, and thus we will be unable to win the understanding and confidence needed to implement them. Lack of clarification of theoretical, ideological questions not only breeds doubt in public opinion; it also leads to other dangers. At the IX Congress of the Consumer Cooperatives, the head of the government stated: "I suspect that beneath solicitude for economic interest, often cloaked in the guise of ideology, there actually lurks fear of competition, competition which threatens the comfort of enjoying a position of monopoly. Well, I'll tell you a secret, and, in this case I don't care if this secret is secretly passed on. Aside from their purpose of meeting real social needs better, the small enterprises have been established to stimulate and promote healthy competition. And we will not despair if it should transpire that not everyone can stand it: At least we will see clearly who is or is not capable of enterprise leadership."

It is the important task of economists who deal also with matters of theory to "strip" those interests which attempt to forge arguments for themselves based on obsolete ideological conclusions so that they can oppose the changes. This "stripping" must be accompanied by certain criticism of popular political economics and revelation of the connection between change and real existing socialism. Even now political economics of socialism is characterized on the whole by and ideologically one-sided and normative approach. Its practitioners have built their picture of the present not on analysis of concrete, actual conditions but by harking back to certain elements of the projected socialist image of the future. The categories of socialism depicted in this manner are virtually free of contradictions and therefore incapable of evolving. This concept identifies the concrete method of economic operation with socialist economy itself; it considers and accepts as ideologically correct only changes which have already taken place. The influence of this concept is very great.

For example, one often hears nowadays that although small enterprises are necessary, socialism is based on large enterprises. Beyond the fact that this is characteristic of the economy of all industrially developed nations, this is a problematical statement because it suggests that the large enterprise in itself is a guarantee of socialist character while small enterprises are less important and less "socialist." Actually, socialist economy needs not merely large or small enterprises but enterprises which are economically sound, an enterprise structure which permits efficient operation.

The question can even be raised about what makes a poorly operating large enterprise "more socialist" than a small enterprise which produces social net income. At the winter 1981 session of the national assembly, Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai pointed out that "during the initial stages of the building of socialism, we unduly impoverished the forms permissible in socialist production relations. We began correcting this a number of years ago. It would be incorrect to permit erroneous ideas to the effect that entrepreneurial activity is the privilege or peculiarity of the new forms to persist. We expect and require all these traits from the large enterprises primarily in their own interests and on behalf of the people."

A frequently heard argument against small enterprises and all market oriented change is that it is alien to socialist morality, that it will lead to the spread of materialistic views. This type of moralizing is faulty not only because it disregards economic relations and finds mankind's urge to a better lieff suspect but because it fails or deliberately overlooks that "materialism" is at least equally characteristic of non-market oriented relations. The bargaining relation between the guiding organs and enterprises, between enterprises and their sections are based heavily on material interests, and waste and holding back output are hardly in accord with behavior deemed desirable by socialist morality.

On the other hand heads of a number of enterprises justifiably complain that they "envy" the freedom of the small entrepreneurs. Instead of the existing system of bargaining relations, they too would be glad to be enterprising,

to have an interest in bringing about the higher performance valued by the market. At the same time, this is in the interest of the entire economy, because we cannot improve our productivity without the development of an entrepreneurial approach in the entire sphere of the enterprises.

All this requires modernization of our system of economic guidance. To accomplish such modernization and to rebut views arguing against the propriety of the measures as well as to lay bare countervailing interests, a candid debate of ideological issues is necessary.

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HUNGARY

NEED TO RETARGET NONURBAN POLITICAL WORK DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Jul 82 p 5

[Interview with Janos Balla, first secretary of the Godollo district party committee; Peter Kovacs, section manager of the Central Committee; Istvan Molnar, secretary of the Vas Megye Party committee; and Peter Varga, first secretary of the Somogy Megye Party Committee, by Jozsef Solyom of the NEPSZABADSAG. No date or place given]

[Text] In recent weeks we published seven articles under the common title of "Political Work for the Villages." The secretaries of large village, district and megye party committees reported in the series on the experiences they had gained and on their efforts in this manifold and complicated area of tasks. Since all these questions focus on the problems of community work for the improvement of the political stance of the quarter million communists working in the villages and of the lot of people living in their environment, we conducted the proceedings in the form of a roundtable discussion. It was not our goal to conclude anything in this subject area; on the contrary, we would like to help our party organizations to overcome the problems of our times by also using the possibilities of our newspaper. Our guests at this roundtable discussion were Janos Balla, first secretary of the Godollo district committee; Peter Kovacs, section manager of the Central Committee; Istvan Molnar, secretary of the Vas Megye Party Committee; and Peter Varga, first secretary of the Somogy Megye Party Committee. Our newspaper was represented by Jozsef Solyom.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The essence of our common task is to exchange views about timely questions of party work in the villages. Before we go on to this subject, would you please tell: Under present conditions, wherein do you see the political importance of this task?

[Peter Kovacs] In my view the importance of the political activity by the party organs and organizations in the villages is determined by the fact that 47 percent of the country's population lives and in good part works in the villages on 3,004 settlements. Hence it is essentially a matter of the successes that are evident from the political efforts of our party for the lot of 5 million people. For this goal, 7,500 basic party organizations are operating in the villages, or one-third of the MSZMP basis organizations. In speaking

of the importance of the party's village work, it is also worth mentioning the fact that in the past decade, the social composition of people living in villages has changed substantially. For example, among active earners 65.6 percent of the workers live in villages and a large number also works there. And the change does not stop at this point. The intellectuals, chiefly teachers, have now been supplemented by an increasing number of agrarian intellectuals and technical intellectuals working in industries established in the provinces; the number of doctors and other intellectual groups is also increasing.

#### They Fulfill an Important Role

[Janos Balla] I have no national summary. There are some places where the number of workers is declining in agricultural producer cooperatives, but this is more evident in basic agricultural activity, whereas in the expansion of industrial and auxiliary farm branch activity the number of tsz (producer cooperative) personnel is increasing. Many are returning from cities to their native village to work, and the favorable change is also promoted by the fact that more and more young people who are growing up in villages remain there when they become of working age.

[Peter Varga] I believe we can agree that the changes of recent years emphasize the political importance of the party's village work. Because, in my opinion, we also need to take into account changes of another nature. For example, in the past two decades we not only reorganized agriculture but by virtue of development large cooperatives have been created. The process of the centralization of resources has had an effect on village life also in other respects: with the establishment of districts our entire school system has changed; in this period we witnessed the concentration of the cooperative network and of the cooperatives in AFESZ [General Consumer and Marketing Cooperatives], and the large-scale development of the commercial network. Our public administration system has also been considerably modified; this is the way joint councils were established, for example. The village party organizations had to adjust constantly to changes both in organization and readiness for action in order that they should be able to stimulate development.

[Peter Kovacs] I also believe that to understand present day problems it is necessary to speak of these changes. The Politburo regarded it as justified to weigh the effect of the resolution it passed 10 years ago on the development of village party work on basis of the changes that have taken place. It established that the execution of the March 1972 resolution can be regarded as fulfilled, and therefore it expressed thanks to the 250,000 communists living and working in the villages. In truth, the village party organizations cooperated worthily in transforming the villages. Primarily, the greatest deed which sings the praise of this work is the successful application of the party's agrarian and cooperative policy. An important element of this work which was performed under frequently difficult conditions is that the communists working in the villages reshaped the village profile in cooperation with their companions outside the party. But parallel with this development problems arose which now confront us. For example, a problem like this is characteristic for the moment of many joint villages. As a consequence of school

districting, the teachers have left these villages, and as a consequence of the rational unification of smaller agricultural cooperatives, most of the cooperative centers were moved to the chief villages, and at present there are no party organizations in 10 percent of the joint villages. These new problems must be unconditionally taken into account at every level of party life when they formulate the future tasks of party work as related to the villages. I emphasize this because the drafting process of the Politburo resolution is at the point where the party megye and executive committees are discussing and laying out their tasks, and in the second half of the year the same thing will be done by the district or the urban-district party organs, and following this also by the village party organizations. Thus there is time for the party organs and bodies interested in the solution to devote adequate attention to the solution of these problems.

#### To Be Present Everywhere

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us pause here a moment. Isn't the problem actually the fact that the party did not appropriately follow in an organizational way the large-scale development in the villages as emphasized several times above?

[Istvan Molnar] No, that is a mistake. In my view, Comrade Kovacs reasoned correctly when he maintained that our party organs and basic party organizations were the initiators and driving motors of the favorable changes that have occurred in our villages. In any event, we are speaking of a process which is moving in a good direction, and it should not detract from its value if now on basis of the new situation we have to correct several matters. At the party conference before the 12th Congress we already had to discuss the fact that there is no party organization in 90 villages. Of course, we were struggling by then with all our might to organize anew the party at these settlements either in the form of party groups or basic organizations, if I may put it this way. It is impermissible that the party should fail to be present, as a political force, even in the smallest organizational unit where people live and work.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is this now the view of the party megye committee, or are we speaking of a deduction which also reflects the demands of the majority of people living in the villages?

[Istvan Molnar] I spoke of our political conviction, which is strengthened by every experience of our life. Indeed, the great majority of the people living in villages expressly require the presence of the party in the environment.

[Peter Varga] I could affirm this with many examples myself. Now I shall only mention the question at the center of community thinking of people living in villages--settlement development. Even in the smallest provincial settlement, the population no longer resigns itself to accepting that the people's front committee or the local council should reject its realistic demands by stating it has no money for it. On such occasions the people turn to the party organization or personally to the party secretary asking him to help and to take an initiative. The party organization satisfies the public wish when it seeks rational possibilities for a solution. It considers what the population can do, the local cooperative, the state farm or the industrial

plant operating on the settlement, and when 70 to 80 percent of the cover for new facility is at hand then the megye council also, as a matter of form, gives its necessary approval.

#### We Must Improve Division of Work

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is this kind of coordinating, task-solving role of the party organizations appropriate to the division of work for which we have been striving more than two decades?

[Peter Varga] Custom plays a role in the fact that frequently community problems are precipitated in party organizations. This is how the order of our life developed. The determining attraction in this everyday practice is confidence in the party, the fact that people feel our policy is their own in the village also, because in the formation of their lot they experience that the policy is for them and serves their basic interests. But we would be deceiving ourselves if we did not perceive that in such practical activity the weakness of other participants is also present in the division of work. For example, the fact that some of our councils are still not mature enough for such tasks because in the council apparatus and in the circle of council officials there has been significant fluctuation, and the present council workers have not yet acquired the experience necessary for attending to this work. Moreover, the personalities of our party secretaries also influence the management of the public affairs of the community and their solution; these are people who enjoy great public esteem and are highly respected in the good sense of the work and to whom party members and nonmembers alike turn with confidence even with personal problems.

[Janos Balla] It appears the world is small, for the experiences we have acquired in the Godollo district coincide with the Somogy problems. Frequently, we too lack the time to sort out to whom we should give this or that task. It would be best, however, for us to find the state or economic organs actually appropriate to the solution and call their attention to the appropriate tasks, to the kind of justified request with which the people of one village or another turned to our party organizations and through them to us. But if the task is urgent, we will certainly seek the path to the solution and we will not go thumbing through the rule book in order to analyze who should do what. Then together with the basic party organizations we will strive valiantly to acquire the support of the population and the economic units operating in the villages for the narrow megye council material possibilities. Frankly speaking, those settlements where some kind of economic unit is operating are in a more fortunate situation. Where such a feature does not exist, the problems of settlement development can only be eased by the more intensive cooperation of the population. Naturally, this situation requires gradualness also in political work. Our situation is made more difficult by the fact that of the 110,000 inhabitants in the district, 57,000 are able-bodied persons of whom 34,000 go to Budapest and other places to work. How these people can be put into some kind of village social work is a big problem. Our experiences are completely contradictory in such efforts. For example, 50 percent of the council members in Kerepestarcsa commute from the outside. Thus at this village they are able to draw the workers commuting from the small village to managing the public life of the larger. At nearby Pecele, on the other hand, even the trace of such success can hardly be detected.

### Greater Attention, More Readiness for Discussion

[NEPSZABADSAG] It appears from our discussions thus far that the village party organizations deal mostly with economic work. This is in truth their main work, but they also have other tasks.

[Peter Varga] The party organizations wrongly take over most of the tasks related to settlement development. In this way, the work of the party organizations is at one level, and they do not deal, for example, with tasks like ideological education and political enlightenment. These tasks are forced into the background although they have a role in the work plans but mostly as titles. Thus in the current of economic organizational tasks, our party organizations pass by erroneous concepts and faulty views, although it should be their obligation to dispute these. If everyone at these settlements performed their tasks, our party organizations also could devote more attention to their own tasks, primarily the formation of the political life of the village.

[Janos Balla] In truth, our party organizations deal decisively with economic problems. There is little time left for educating people for dealing with them. And by this I mean both outside and inside the party. In many places, party life is rigid. They discuss the agenda at membership meetings, and then everyone goes his own way. There is frequently no time or energy for party members working in the same basic organization to pay attention to one another.

[Peter Varga] The essence of the matter in fact is that people must be at the center of political work. This is true both within the party organization and in its area of authority, that is, in a broad or narrow sense. Unfortunately, however, in very many party organizations they do not deal with adequate care and attention with the elderly who need special care, with the young, and with the intellectuals who want a part in the public life of the village. For example, a big problem is the settling of gypsies within the villages. We are striving to see that if a place becomes vacant in some village that they should be placed there with the help of the council. But an understanding must be arrived at with the local population that they will be accepted. All these are extremely important political questions because I believe it is our experience, peculiar not only to Somogy, that if a given subclass or population group lags behind, it hinders the general progress of everyone.

### More Help for Local Work

[Istvan Molnar] Let us not be unjust to the village party organizations. Without them and without their political work we would not be where we are today. The unilevel nature of our activity and all those weaknesses which we have discussed are primarily our fault. We--the higher organs and their working members--formed the practice of our party life in such a way that ideological work would be narrowed basically to party teaching. But it would be particularly important for our party organizations vigorously to oppose every erroneous view, and by this I do not merely mean to open discussions conducted at party meetings. This effort must be present in the everyday behavior of communists and in their political presence. This requirement is related in Vas Megye with the guarding of the state border. Hence it is extremely

important. But we should also deal more with the problems of public teaching and education. Because, for example, in the joint villages, where there is no basic party organization, there is no substantial public education activity despite the fact that in every settlement in Vas megye there is a facility serving this requirement. Now in connection with the execution of the resolution of the Politburo dealing with the further development of village party work, we are drawing up the tasks of the megye party committee in this sense. We are striving to see that the help of the party organization should be at the center of our activity, and adequate attention should be given to every settlement.

I agree with the next task in this sense: every party organ and body from the megye party executive committee to the leadership of the basic organizations must conceive its own tasks on the basis of the Politburo resolution. For example, how cadre work must be improved for the development of rational division of work in the villages. It has become clear from our discussions that a key question is to have appropriate people working in appropriate positions. If this is how it is to be, the village party organization will also have time not only to assist in economic work but also in theoretical and ideological enlightenment work, the carrying out of subclass work, and to deal with people. For example, it is extremely important that the party organization should come to an understanding with the intellectuals who work there over the development of the village and the direction of the development. It would surely ease the problems if, for example, the area managing party committees would help in adapting such favorable experiences to the village. A more direct and lively work relationship between the city and district party committees would also serve to improve village and city supplies. Certainly, the cities would receive more vegetables and meat, while public teaching would improve in the villages. And there are other problems which can now be filtered from our lives by working out the Politburo resolution. It still happens that the council, people's front committee and party leadership of 10 villages will report separately to an AFESZ chairman with each one submitting its own requirements. This practice will give rise to confusion, contradictory measures, and sterile, superfluous debates. It would be preferable if the party, council and people's front managers of the villages would coordinate their ideas and then come to an understanding with the AFESZ chairman and other economic managers. Thinking in the village party organizations should also be accelerated in this direction.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us hope that our roundtable discussion will offer at least some help to this end.

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CSO: 2500/351

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Stan Magureanu is relieved of his position as secretary of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Lucianu Dragut is relieved of his position as first deputy chairman of the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and appointed secretary of the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Simion Dobrovici is relieved of his position as deputy minister of domestic trade, in view of his retirement. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 60, 30 Jun 82 p 3]

RELEASE OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Nestorescu is released from his position as deputy minister of the machinebuilding industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 60, 30 Jun 82 p 3]

MINISTERIAL PERSONNEL CHANGE--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Marin Traistaru is relieved of his position as deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 60, 30 Jun 82, p 3]

NEW DEPUTY MINISTERS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that comrades Constantin Dumitru and Vasile Iorgulescu are appointed to the position of deputy ministers of the machinebuilding industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No. 72, 11 Aug 82, p 4]

PRAHOVA, DOLJ APPOINTMENTS--Inasmuch as the positions of chairman of the executive committees of the peoples councils of Prahova and Dolj counties have become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Article 1--Comrade Virgil Cazacu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Prahova County. Article 2--Comrade Ion Radu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Dolj County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 72, 11 Aug 82, p 4]

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YUGOSLAVIA

ARTICLE IN CROATIAN WEEKLY URGES DEMOCRATIC RESTRUCTURING OF LCY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 82 pp 38-39

[Article by Dr Slobodan Inic]

[Excerpts] Despite proclamations, it seems that the League of Communists has not gone very far in abandoning and rejecting the practice of developing itself through the exercise of power. Thus, in a historically final form there stands before us the need to continue the process of surmounting the League of Communists as the managing unit of the revolution. Every action of the LC in its existing form--through its inability to refute its managing authority--is reflected in the degenerative power of groups and individuals.

The other side of this is represented in the current situation in which the LC exists less and less in the form of an active membership. Its development, in the last few decades and more, has been characterized by movement based on management. The members from the viewpoint of action and organization as a factor in creating and implementing party policy, in fact, do not exist. They "exist" only when they have to be called on! (According to some studies, for instance, in 80 percent of the cases the contents of agendas in basic organizations "are specified" from above.) Acting within the LC as a repetition of the past is an almost invisible mechanism which legally produces the double life of the Party on two levels, the management and the membership which the LC separates into the "top" and the "bottom." Everything comes from the top and flows obligatorily to the bottom.

To renew the LC today as a democratic organization means to overcome its development based on management. Regardless of the differences in regard to ideology and understanding, members no longer want to participate in the empty political life of the Party by agreeing and accepting, by issuing and approving resolutions and conclusions. In fact, they do not want to hold opinions (opinion [judgment] as some or someone's authority). All this degrades an LC member, and asks from him the duty of discipline and passive obedience. Hence the need arises to decentralize the LC organization in its internal structure so that cadres would be elected for their program and ideas on the membership and working-mass level and not only on the management level. There is no greater task than the task of getting rid of all those methods and forms of organization which are pulling the Party, instead of the class and producers, toward exercising power, we have no greater task than to squeeze out of the communist organization the consciousness [concept] regarding projections of a political system based on the image and standard of the LC.

Discussion about the principles of organization of the LC can have sense only if we want to return in a realistic way to organization of the party in the social dialectic of the movement. This means freeing oneself from the practice which I call prolonging the attaining of political power, exercising this power in the name of the class. The problem lies in how to influence society outside the impetus of power. A new identity of the LC and the working class is possible to achieve only if the communist organization relies on the developed power of the class, on its ability to take the destiny of society in its hands. Considering this power of the working class and working people, of the creators and producers in the broadest sense, the LC organization must not remain [structured] only on the production-work and territorial principles as the "holy duality." Especially unacceptable is the alternative "either-or," or only the production-work principle or only the territorial principle. New, different, flexible, and broader forms of organization of the members are needed which will enable the LC to begin forming a mass organism, to bring out the heretofore-fettered strength of the membership to the wider social arena in accord with the memberships' potential and abilities. In any case one should overcome all those traditional principles of organizations which at one time were very effective but which today do not show the exemplary new qualities of social development; because just as the territorial principle, as a rule, does not throw the membership and working people into the merry-go-round of the "opstina" or "regional" party, so does the work-production principle restrict their [the members'] possibilities at the factory and branch level and does not permit them to grow. We must not consent to the concept of a juvenile party....

Thus, the task of the LC is to develop its new action in social reality as a decisively democratic method of action and with this, to develop an exemplary organizational structure. Thus, the party does not impose itself on society in the image of some outside power: [rather] it acts as a movement "from below." It is necessary to throw out the "past" even though it was, in our case, even illustrious, and the view that the party has the right to manage society in the name of a triumphant revolution. We are faced in this regard with developing a new activity of the LC and its organizational structure under the conditions of self-management. It must stop giving directives.... It must act against the practice of continuing to rule. The weaknesses of the LC arise from the inability to get started in this direction. We can with difficulty continue to advance in the development of self-management without the League of Communists, but we can never advance if the LC does not reform itself in accord with self-management! ...We must establish the movement as the League of Communists, and not the League of Communists as a movement. The Party which changes the movement, wanting to act upon the movement and act as a movement, cuts its own life artery when it begins to use methods of administrative control of society.

At this time it is necessary to consider the form of party organization of the League of Communists as [to whether it is] an historically adequate mode of communist intervention in social reality. This is necessary because we are witnessing a situation of tension in the LC and in the social situation. The modes of its organization developed from the past do not correspond to present-day tasks. If it is not realized in time that a party which brings about the revolution can also consume this same revolution through its lack of movement, then what remains is a formerly revolutionary party. Only through reform can we reestablish the feeling that with the LCY perhaps we can expect something from the future.